

SETH
IN JEWISH, CHRISTIAN
AND GNOSTIC LITERATURE

SUPPLEMENTS TO NOVUM TESTAMENTUM

EDITORIAL BOARD

W. C. VAN UNNIK, PRESIDENT

P. BRATSIOTIS - K. W. CLARK - H. CLAVIER - J. W. DOEVE - J. DORESSE

C. W. DUGMORE - DOM J. DUPONT - A. GEYSER - W. GROSSOUW

A. F. J. KLIJN - BO REICKE - K. H. RENGSTORF - E. STAUFFER

VOLUME XLVI



LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL

1977

SETH
IN JEWISH, CHRISTIAN
AND GNOSTIC LITERATURE

BY

A. F. J. KLIJN



LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1977

ISBN 90 04 05245 3

Copyright 1977 by E. J. Brill, Leiden, Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or translated in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm, microfiche or any other means without written permission from the publisher

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

CONTENTS

Introduction.	VII
I. Seth in Jewish Literature.	I
a. The Masoretic Text.	I
b. The Translations of the Old Testament	3
c. Genesis Rabbah	6
d. Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer	8
e. Zohar.	10
f. Summary of Traditions in the Synagogal Literature.	11
g. Jubilees.	13
h. <i>Vita Adae et Evae</i>	16
i. The Apocalypse of Moses	18
j. Other Jewish Pseudepigraphical Writings	20
k. Summary of Traditions in the Pseudepigraphical Literature.	22
l. Josephus	23
m. Philo of Alexandria.	25
n. Seth in Jewish Literature	27
II. Seth in Samaritan Literature	29
III. The Name of Seth and Facts from his Life in Jewish and Christian Literature	33
a. The Name of Seth	33
b. Facts from the Life of Seth	36
IV. Seth in Christian Literature.	48
a. Traditions and Knowledge going back to Seth	48
1. Seth as Scribe and Astrologer	48
2. The Books of Seth	53
b. The Generation of Seth	60
1. Greek Authors, especially the Byzantine Chronographers	61
2. The Cave of Treasures and related Literature	67
3. The Syriac Commentators	71
c. Seth in Christian Literature	77

V. Seth in Gnostic Literature	81
a. The Sethians and related Groups	82
b. The Nag Hammadi Library	90
c. Other Gnostic Sects and Writings	107
d. Seth in Gnostic Literature.	112
VI. Final Conclusions	118
Appendix I	120
Appendix II	125
Bibliography of Modern Works	128
References	132

INTRODUCTION

The title of this work speaks for itself. In this book the way in which Jews, Christians and Gnostics speak about Seth, the son of Adam, is discussed.

But it is necessary to say a few words about the wider framework within which this work has to be read.

It hardly needs to be said that the origin and development of Christianity and Gnosticism cannot be examined without taking Judaism into consideration. This is the reason for the interest taken by the department of New Testament Studies in the Theological Faculty of the State University in Groningen in the influence of Judaism on Christianity. This interest has resulted in a work written by the present author and G. J. Reinink entitled *Patristic Evidence for Jewish-Christian Sects*, in: *Supplements to Novum Testamentum* XXXVI, Leiden 1973. This work dealt with those groups of Christians who adhered to Judaism to such an extent that they became into conflict with the orthodox Church. The phrase "to such an extent" was used since the orthodox Church was itself also heavily indebted to Judaism. In our view, the term "Jewish Christianity" can hardly be used since all forms of Christianity show the influence of Judaism. Certain Jewish ideas such as circumcision, were, however, not accepted. If groups of Christians preferred to adhere to these practices or ideas, they had eventually to choose whether to abandon them or to follow their own course as a sect outside the church. But all this evolved very slowly and it certainly did not develop in the same way everywhere.

In order to show how Jewish ideas were accepted by Christianity or were unacceptable to the Church we took as an example the ideas connected with Seth, the third son of Adam and Eve. Here we demonstrated how Christians freely used those Jewish traditions that they were able to use.

Our choice of Seth was, however, not entirely accidental. It is well known that Seth played an especially important part in gnosticism. This choice also gave us the opportunity to see what happened to Jewish ideas in gnostic circles.

The present work was started with G. J. Reinink, who had to

leave us at an early date since he was appointed to the Semitic Institute. It was continued with help of Miss E. H. Lubberink, R. M. Witteveen and J. J. Bijlsma. I thank them all for their help at some stage or another of this work. Finally I have to thank members of the Theological Faculty of the State University of Groningen for their interest in this work, demonstrated in many generous contributions during the last few years.

CHAPTER ONE

SETH IN JEWISH LITERATURE

a. *The Masoretic Text*

The first chapters of the Book of Genesis in which Seth is mentioned (Gen. 3, 25-26; 5, 3-4; 5, 6-8) come from two sources. Of these two sources P is clearly recognizable. To this source belong 1, 1-2, 4a, dealing with the creation of heaven and earth in six days, chapter 5 with its genealogy starting with Adam who after 130 years begot a son "in his own likeness, after his image" (vs. 3) and ending with the birth of Shem, Ham and Japheth (vs. 32), the sons of Noah, and finally chapter 6 from vs. 9 with the history of the righteous Noah. Gen. 5, 29 is not usually regarded as belonging to P.¹

Cain and Abel are not found in P, which mentions Seth as Adam's only son whose generation leads to Noah and his sons (5, 6-32). The same genealogy is found in 1 Chron. 1, 1-4 where we read about Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech and Noah. The same tradition was used by Luke, who traced Jesus' genealogy back to Seth and Adam (cf. Luke 3, 38).

According to this tradition Adam's likeness and image passed to his generation and Seth was the first to receive it (cf. Gen. 5, 3). It appears that it remained part of humanity even after the flood. In this tradition nothing is said about Adam's fall. We may even draw the conclusion that the successive generations after Adam until the time of Noah were living righteously.

Gen. 2, 4b-4, 26 is generally regarded as belonging to J. This passage deals with Adam's life in paradise, the origin of Eve, the fall, the expulsion from paradise, the birth of Cain and Abel and Abel's death. It also contains a genealogy from Cain to the children of Lamech and the remark that God gave to Adam "a new seed"

¹ Cf. O. Procksch, *Die Genesis*, in: *Komm. z. A.T.* I, Leipzig 1924; A. Weiser, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Göttingen 1953⁵; O. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Tübingen 1965¹⁰; E. Sellin and G. Höhrer, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Heidelberg 1965¹⁰; C. Westermann, *Handbook to the Old Testament*, London 1969; Th. C. Vriezen-A. S. van der Woude, *De Literatuur van Oud-Israël*, Wassenaar 1973.

with the birth of Seth (4, 25). Of Seth's generation, only his son Enosh is mentioned (4, 26). To the same source also belongs 5, 5-8, in which it is said that God regretted his creation of the earth and decided to blot out all mankind apart from Noah. This passage is preceeded by 6, 1-4, an "erratic block" with mythological elements and a doubtful origin, dealing with the descent of the "sons of God" to the children of men.² As we have already said, 5, 29 is usually regarded as belonging to J.³

In J, though not in P, there is a gradual deterioration after the creation of Adam. We read about the expulsion from paradise, Abel's death and the birth of the giants, the offspring of the sons of God and the children of men. The only sign of light in a decaying world is the birth of Seth who is considered to be Abel's substitute:

וַתִּקְרָא אֶת-שְׁמוֹ שֵׁת כִּי שָׁת-לִי אֱלֹהִים נֹרַע אָחִי.

If we accept 5, 29, according to which Noah was to bring relief "from the toil of our hands on the earth", as part of J, then we may assume that this verse refers to a new era coming after the flood.

This means that in both P and J Seth is important.⁴ In P he is placed at the beginning of mankind as the first to bear Adam's image and in J he is seen as a new beginning in a world which was spoilt by Cain's killing of Abel. The fusion of the two sources, resulting in the first chapters of Genesis in their present form would appear to give an even more important position to Seth. As opposed to the description in J of a world going down in sin and murder, P gives special emphasis to the birth of Seth not only as the beginning of a new era but also as his being after Adam's image.

² Eissfeldt and Sellin-Fohrer accept a source with primitive stories, like that in Gen. 6, 1-4, apart from J. For studies before 1937, see G. E. Closen, *Die Sünde der "Söhne Gottes". Gen. 6, 1-4*, in: *Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici*, Rom 1937, p. 227-238. See also F. Dexinger, *Sturz der Göttersöhne oder Engel vor der Sintflut?*, in: *Wiener Beitr. zur Theologie XIII*, Wien 1966, p. 54-58; J. Scharbert, *Traditions- und Redaktionsgeschichte von Gn 6, 1-4*, in: *Bibl. Zeitschr.* n. F. 11 1967, p. 66-78, and H. Haag, s.v. **בן**, in: *Theol. Wörterb. z. A.T.* I, Stuttgart 1973, c. 680-682.

³ Sellin-Fohrer and Westermann do not mention the idea that 5, 29 belongs to J, but see C. Westermann, *Genesis*, in: *Bibl. Komm. z. A.T.* I/1, Neukirchen 1974, p. 487.

⁴ Although many Roman Catholic scholars believed that Gen. 6, 1-4 referred to Sethites and Cainites, see f.e. H. Junker, *Zur Erklärung von Gen. 6, 1-4*, in: *Biblica* 16 1935, 205-214, this view has generally been abandoned since the study made by Closen, *op. cit.*, but Scharbert, *op. cit.*, tried to defend it again. It is, however rejected by Haag, *op. cit.*

b. *The Translations of the Old Testament*

In this section we shall deal with the various Targums, the translation of the Old Testament into Greek and the Syriac translation. Since the early translators were usually paraphrasing the original text, it is often possible to detect where they wished the text to be corrected. This often happened in passages where they came across discrepancies between one passage and another. At the beginning of Genesis they had to deal, for example, with the two differing genealogies, one opening with Adam's sons Cain (Gen. 4, 17-24) and the other with Seth (Gen. 5, 6-32). They obviously had to show which of the two genealogies was authentic.

The problem was drastically solved by deciding that Cain was not a son of Adam. In Ps. Jonathan we read:⁵ "And Adam was aware that Eve his wife had conceived from Sammael⁶ the angel, and she became pregnant and bare Cain, and he was like those on high, not like those below; and she said: 'I have acquired a man, the angel of the Lord'.⁷ And she went on to bear from Adam, her

⁵ See J. Bowker, *The Targums and Rabbinic Literature*, Cambridge 1969, p. 132. The Fragmentary Targum, see *Das Fragmententhargum*, ed. M. Ginsburger, Berlin 1899, p. 92, reads: "And Adam knew that Eve", which possibly shows that the text is identical with that of Ps. Jonathan.

⁶ According to Ps. *Jonathan Gen.* 3, 6, Sammael was the angel of death and according to *Deut. Rabbah XI* 10, ed. J. Rabinowitz, in: *Midrash Rabbah*, ed. H. Freedman and M. Simon, London 1961, p. 183ff., he was the leader of all satans. The name is explained in different ways. It is said that in this name the word שָׂדֶה—poison can be recognized, cf. *Testament of Abraham XVI*, ed. M. Delcor, in: *Studia in Vet. Test. Pseudepigr.* II, Leiden 1973, p. 158-159, or the word שָׂמָד—blind, cf. *Acta Andreae et Matthiae c.* 24, ed. R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha II* 1, Darmstadt 1959 (reprint 1898), p. 101, and the *Hypostasis of the Archons*, ed. R. A. Bullard, in: *Patrist. Texte und Studien* 10, Berlin 1970, p. 134, 27 and 135, 3, see also p. 51-53.

⁷ The idea that the offspring of angels and women reveal a superhuman aspect is well known, cf. *i Enoch* 106, 5-6, where we read that when Noah was born Lamech says that he had begotten a strange son οὐχ ὅμοιον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀλλὰ τοῖς τέκνοις τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ . . . The same story is found in *Genesis Apocryphon II*, ed. N. Avigad, Jerusalem 1950, p. 40. See also *Zohar I, Bereshith* 37a, ed. H. Sperling and M. Simon with an Introduction by J. Abelson, London and Bournemouth 1949, p. 138: "For Cain was born of Sammael and his aspect was not like that of the other human beings, and all who came from his stock were called 'sons of God'" (cf. Gen. 6, 1). See also *Apocalypse of Moses I* 2, which is dealt with below. The idea was taken over by Gnostics, see *Apocryphon of John II*, p. 10, 34-36, ed. M. Krause-P. Labib, *Die Drei Versionen des Apokryphon des Johannes im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo*, in: *Abhandl. des Deutschen Archäologischen Inst. Kairo*, Kopt. Reihe Bd. 1, Wiesbaden 1962, p. 138-139: "...Kain,

husband, the twin sister and Abel. And Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a man working in the earth."

This means that Adam had intercourse with Eve but only after she had conceived from Sammael, a conception of which Adam "was aware". In this rendering of Gen. 4, 1-2 it is also said not only that Abel and Cain were twins—a conclusion drawn from the words *וְהָאֵתָר לְלֶדֶת* in 4, 2—but also that at the same time a girl was born. This explains how Cain was able to marry (see 4, 17).⁸

We may therefore conclude that, according to Ps. Jonathan, Seth and his children were Adam's only legitimate descendants.

It is perhaps important that in the LXX the word "again" is omitted in 4, 25, which seems to imply that Adam had no intercourse with Eve before he begot Seth.⁹ This seems, however, to be questionable since nothing was changed in the text of 4, 1, which speaks about Adam begetting Cain.

It is striking that the Targums, apart from Neofiti I, marg., speak about the birth of a son (*בֵּר*) and not of "another seed" in 4, 25. This is an excellent rendering of the original text, but it also shows that the birth of Seth was not regarded as the beginning of a

den die Menschengeschlechter 'die Sonne' nennen". This is also found in the *Gospel of the Egyptians* III 58, 15-17, ed. A. Böhlig, F. Wisse and P. Labib, in: *Nag Hammadi Studies* IV, Leiden 1975, p. 124.

⁸ Traditions about the birth of Cain, Abel and their sisters are far from unanimous. In *b. Sanh* 38b, ed. L. Goldschmidt, *Der Babylonische Talmud* Band I-XII, Berlin 1964-1967², VIII, p. 609, we read: "...in der achten (Stunde) legten sie (scil. Adam and Eve) sich ins Bett zu zweien und verliessen es zu vierten", which can also be found in *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan* ch. 1, ed. J. Goldin, New Haven 1955, p. 13. This probably refers to a simultaneous birth of Cain and Abel, see also *Pirké de Rabbi Eliezer* XXI, ed. G. Friedlander, London 1916, p. 152: "Rabbi Joseph said: Cain and Abel were twins. . ." In *Genesis Rabbah* XXII 2, ed. H. Freedman, in: *Midrash Rabbah*, ed. by H. Freeman and M. Simon, London 1961, p. 180, see also below, we find the birth of Cain and his twin sister and Abel and his two twin sisters, which agrees with *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan* ch. 1, p. 13: "R. Judah b. Bathyra says: On that day two lay down together and seven arose", cf. *Pirké de Rabbi Eliezer* XXI, p. 152: "Rabbi Miasha said: Cain was born and his wife his twin sister with him". See also L. Ginzberg, *Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern und in der apokryphischen Literatur*, in: *Monatschr. f. Gesch. u. Wissensch. des Judentums* 13 1899, p. 225, n. 3: "Die zweite Zwillingschwester im Midr. hat ihr Dasein dem doppelten *חַוָּה* welches bei dem Geburt Hebels steht zu verdanken". In the late writing, the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* XXVI 1, ed. M. Gaster, London 1899, p. 54, we read: "Adam begat three sons and three daughters, Cain and his twin wife Qalmana, Abel and his twin wife Deborah and Seth and his twin wife Nōba".

⁹ Also omitted in Philo, *De Cherub.* 53.

new generation. The Greek translation gives a literal rendering of those words: σπέρμα ἕτερον.

The Targums do not try to preserve the play on the words which we find in 4, 25: . . . שֵׁת כִּי שָׁה-לִי . . . As in the Syriac translation, all that is said is that Eve was "given" another son. Neofiti I gives a literal translation (ܫܝܬ) in which, however, the name of Seth can no longer be found. A similar literal translation is found in the LXX, where the word ἐξάνεστησε is used. This gave rise to speculations among later Christian authors about a possible connection between Seth and Christ, since in Seth's name the word resurrection (ἀνάστασις) seemed to be present.¹⁰

In 4, 26, we read that men began to invoke the name of the Lord. This obviously happened at the time of Enosh. This was drastically changed in the Targums, because it seemed to contradict Exod. 6, 3, where it is said that, at the time of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the name of the Lord was not yet known. In the Targum of Onkelos we read: "... after that in his days the sons of men profaned in this way that they did not pray in the name of the Lord".¹¹ In other versions, the alterations are even more radical. In Ps. Jonathan we read: "That was the generation during the days of which they began to err and to make idols for themselves and to call their idols by the name of the word of God".¹² Neofiti I reads: "Then the sons of men began to make idols for themselves and to call them by the name of the word of God".¹³ The translators of the Septuagint solved the problem more simple by saying: οὗτος ἤλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου. This means that the Hebrew text was interpreted as reading אֱלֹהִים הָיָה place of אֱלֹהִים הָיָה.¹⁴

¹⁰ See p. 34-35.

¹¹ See ... בכין ביומיה ח' לו בוי אנושא ... in *The Bible in Aramaic* vol. I, *Targum Onkelos*, ed. A. Sperber, Leiden 1959, and the Masoretic Text ... אֱלֹהִים הָיָה לְקָרָא ...

¹² The *Fragmentary Targum* p. 7, shows a similar text: "... in his days the sons of men began to practise an alien cult and they began to call it after the name of the Lord of God".

¹³ *Neofiti I*, *marg.*, ed. A. Diez Macho, Madrid and Barcelona 1968, shows some connection with the *Fragmentary Targum*: "Behold, it was in this day that they began to practise an alien cult and to name it after the word of the Lord". See also P. Schäfer, *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen. Untersuchungen zur rabbinischen Engelvorstellung*, Berlin and New York 1975, p. 103-104.

¹⁴ In Philo, *Quod Det. Pot.* 138 we read about the son of Seth, Enosh: ἤλπισε οὗτος πρῶτον ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ.

In 5, 1-3, the Targum Jonathan changed the text in order to agree with 4, 1, according to which Cain was thought to be a son of Sammael. In 5, 3 we read: "And Adam lived a hundred and thirty years, and begat Seth who bore his likeness and his appearance. For before that time, Eve had borne Cain who was not from him (Adam) and did not resemble him, and Abel was killed at the hands of Cain, and Cain was cast out and his descendants were not recorded in the book of the genealogy of Adam. And after that there was born one who resembled him and he called his name Seth." What is striking is that in this passage only Cain's birth is mentioned. What the author is seeming to suggest here is that Abel too cannot be called a son of Adam. We may conclude from this that the author's intention was to show that Seth was Adam's only son, since he was the only one who resembled him.

Finally, we see that in the Greek translation Adam was not 130 years old when he begot Seth, as appears in the Hebrew text of 5, 3, but 230 years old.¹⁵

c. *Genesis Rabbah*

As in the Targums, so too in *Genesis Rabbah*, Gen. 4, 2 was thought to refer to the simultaneous birth of Cain and Abel: "... and she again bore implies an additional birth, not an additional pregnancy".¹⁶ According to *Genesis Rabbah*, however, several sisters were born, unlike the one mentioned in the Targum: "Only two entered the bed and seven left it: Cain and his twin sister, Abel and his twin sisters."¹⁷

It is striking that in Gen. 4, 25 the word עוֹד was not rendered by "again", but by "more" resulting in the translation: "desire was added to his desire ...".¹⁸ This rendering may imply that Adam did not have intercourse with Eve before he begot Seth. We shall see that this idea is not unknown in *Genesis Rabbah*, but it

¹⁵ The year 230 might have appeared in Hebrew MSS. cf. J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* I, Romae 1719, p. 65, quoting Jacob of Edessa: *In quibusdam satis accuratis Hebraicis historiis scriptum reperimus Adam genuisse Seth, cum esset annorum 230.*

¹⁶ See *Genesis Rabbah* XXII 3, p. 180-181.

¹⁷ *Genesis Rabbah* XXII 2, p. 180, and cf. XXII 3, p. 180.

¹⁸ *Genesis Rabbah* XXIII 5, p. 195, see also Josephus, *Antiquit.* I 67: ... καὶ δευτὸς εἶπεν αὐτὸν γενέσεως ἕως ... Also in *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan* ch. 1, p. 13. See S. Rappaport, *Agada und Exegese bei Flavius Josephus*, Wien 1930, p. 7 and 87.

is not certain that the alteration should be explained from this background.

Contrary to the majority of the Targums, we find the words "another seed" in Gen. 4, 25. A very interesting explanation of these words is given in Genesis Rabbah: "R. Tanhuma said in the name of Samuel Kozith: [She hinted at] that seed which would arise from another source, viz. the King Messiah".¹⁹ The idea that the Messiah was to be of "another seed" can also be found in Genesis Rabbah LI 8, where it is said that he will come from a "different source".²⁰ In that passage Ruth is seen to be of non-Israelite descent, but nevertheless an ancestor of the Messiah. We are obviously dealing with the idea of a Davidic Messiah in whose genealogy Ruth occurs and this called for an explanation.

As in the Targums, so in Genesis Rabbah Gen. 4, 26 was thought to refer to the beginning of idolatry in Israel. It is said that at the time of Enosh, people would be influenced by demons and that they would say: "What is the difference whether one prostrates himself before an image or prostrates himself before men?"²¹

With reference to Gen. 5, 1, the beginning of the genealogy of Adam and Seth, we meet various opinions. According to one tradition in chapter 5 only Adam's descendants are mentioned, 4, 17-24 referring to the offspring of demons: "Throughout the entire one hundred and thirty years during which Adam held aloof from Eve the male demons were made ardent by her and she bore, while the female demons were inflamed by Adam and they bore . . ." ²² This means that, according to this tradition, both

¹⁹ *Genesis Rabbah* XXIII 5, p. 196

²⁰ On p. 448 and see also *Ruth Rabbah*, ed. A. Wünsche, in: *Biblia Rabbinica* 23. Lief., p. 58: "R. Tanchuma im Namen des R. Samuel sagte: Es heisst Gen. 19, 32: 'dass wir uns Samen erwecken von unsrem Vater'. Es heisst nicht בן Son, sondern זרע Samen, damit ist jenen Samen gemeint der von einem andern Orte von Jehuda, Boas, Ruth kommt. Wer ist das? Der König Messias". See also M. D. Johnson, *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, in: *Soc. of New Testament Studies*, Monograph Series 8, Cambridge 1969, p. 168, and Strack-Billerbeck, *Komm. zum Neuen Testament* I, p. 26-27.

²¹ *Genesis Rabbah* XXIII 6, p. 196-197.

²² *Genesis Rabbah* XXIV 6, p. 203, see also *Numbers Rabbah* II, XIV 12, ed. J. J. Slotki, in: *Midrash Rabbah*, ed. by H. Freedman and M. Simon, London 1961, p. 618; *b. Erub.* 18b, ed. Goldschmidt II, p. 56: "All die Jahre, während welcher Adam der Urmensch im Banne war, zeugte er Geister, Dämonen und Nachtgespenster, denn es heisst: Als Adam hundert dreissig Jahre alt war . . .", also *b. Shabb.* 146a, ed. Goldschmidt I, p. 898, *b. Jabmuth* 103b, ed. Goldschmidt IV, p. 683, *b. Ab. Zara* 22b, ed. Goldschmidt IX, p. 503, and *Chron. of Jerahmeel* XXIII 1, p. 48-49: "Know and understand that, when

Cain and Abel were sons of the devil and that neither Cain nor Abel can be called children of Adam.

Another tradition about Cain's offspring mentioned in Gen. 4 was handed down by Joshua b. Levi. According to this tradition they were all destroyed by the flood because, in the opinion of this rabbi, "All these names signify chastening".²³ Here nothing is said about the origin of Cain and his children, but his descendants were thought to be a generation which was clearly separated from the children of Seth and which came to an end during the flood.

d. *Pirḳê de Rabbi Eliezer*

In PRE it is explicitly stated that Cain was not Adam's son. In Ch. XXII we read, with reference to Gen. 5, 3, that Cain was not of Adam's seed "nor after his likeness, nor after his image".²⁴ Cain's birth is dealt with in Ch. XXI and the same idea as in Ps. Jonathan is found there; namely that Sammael came to Eve and she conceived, after which Adam came to her. The text continues: "What is the meaning of 'knew'? (He knew) that she had conceived". In PRE too, we find that Cain had a likeness that was not of the earthly beings but of heavenly ones.²⁵ In this text, there are two traditions concerning the simultaneous birth of Cain and Abel. According to Rabbi Miasha, "Cain was born, and his wife, his twin-sister with him", according to Rabbi Joseph "Cain and Abel were twins, as it is said . . ." after which Gen. 4, 1 and 2 is quoted.²⁶

Even more clearly than in the traditions mentioned above, we find the idea that the two generations of Seth and Cain were following a different way of life. According to Rabbi Simeon (other MSS.: Ishmael) "From Seth arose and were descended all the generations of the righteous. From Cain arose and were descended all the generations of the wicked . . ." ²⁷

Adam was separated for 130 years from Eve, he slept alone, and the first Eve—that is, Lilith—found him, and being charmed with his beauty, went and lay by his side, and there were begotten from her demons, spirits and imps in thousand of myriads . . ."

²³ *Genesis Rabbah* XXIV 6, p. 203-204, see also *Chron. of Jerahmeel* XXIV 4, p. 50: "They were all wicked for all descendants of Cain were called the seed of evil-doers, and all descendants were swallowed up by the flood".

²⁴ *Pirḳê de Rabbi Eliezer* XXII, p. 158.

²⁵ XXI, p. 150-151.

²⁶ XXI, p. 152.

²⁷ XXII, p. 158-159.

This is all we read about the generation of Seth, but with regard to Cain it is stated that according to Rabbi Meir: "The generations of Cain went about stark naked, men and women, just like beasts, and they defiled themselves with all kinds of immorality, a man with his mother or a daughter, or a wife of his brother, or the wife of his neighbour, in public and in the streets, with evil inclination which is in the thought of their hearts . . ." ²⁸

The generation of Cain is identified with the "daughters of men" mentioned in Gen. 6, 2 who mixed with the angels by who are meant the "sons of God" mentioned in Gen. 6, 1. These daughters of the generation of Cain were walking about naked with their eyes painted like harlots. ²⁹

According to Rabbi Joshua, these angels were flaming fire "and fire came with the coition of flesh and blood but did not burn the body; but when they fell from heaven, from their holy place, their strength and stature (became) like that of the sons of men, and their form was (made of) clods of dust. . ." (cf. Job 5, 2). ³⁰ From this coition, giants were born. ³¹ Noah preached that they had to repent and to leave their former ways. ³²

Of some importance, especially in the light of later Christian traditions, is the passage about Adam's preparations for his burial. He built himself a mausoleum beyond Mount Moriah. ³³ He wanted

²⁸ XXII, p. 159. This tradition is also found in *Ps. Jonathan Gen.* 6, 2, but with regard to the "daughters of men": "that the sons of the great ones saw that the daughters of men were beautiful, with eyes painted and hair curled, walking in the nakedness of flesh, and they conceived lustful thoughts; and they took them wives of all that they chose". Cf. *Genesis Rabbah* XXVI 7, p. 218: "R. Berekiah said: A woman would go out into the market place, see a young man, and conceive a passion for him, where upon she would go, cohabit and give birth to a young man like him".

²⁹ XXII, p. 160, see for the identification of the "sons of God": P. S. Alexander, *The Targumim and early Exegesis of "Sons of God" in Genesis 6*, in: *Journ. of Jew. Stud.* 23 1972, p. 60-71. In *Chron. of Jerahmeel* XXIV 10-11, p. 51-52, the "sons of God" are identified with the "seed of Seth" and the "daughters of men" with the "seed of Cain". During the lifetime of Adam the sons of Seth had not intermarried with the seed of Cain. They dwelt in the mountains near the Garden of Eden, while Cain dwelt in the fields of Damascus. See also L. Ginzberg, *Die Haggada* . . . , p. 409, and L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* I—VII, Philadelphia 1946-1971, V p. 172, n. 14.

³⁰ XXII, p. 160.

³¹ XXII, p. 160-161.

³² XXII, p. 161-162.

³³ XX, p. 148.

his body to be buried deep down beneath the cave.³⁴ "Therefore it is called the Cave of Machpelah, which is a double cave. There Adam was laid down and his help-meet, Abraham and his help-meet,³⁵ Isaac and his help-meet, Jacob and his help-meet.³⁶ Therefore, it is called 'the city of four' (Kirjath Arba'): for four pairs (were buried there) . . ."³⁷

e. *Zohar*

In *Zohar* too, we find the two traditions already referred to above. According to the first of these traditions concerning the birth of Cain and Abel, Eve received impurity from the serpent. After having had intercourse with Adam, two sons were born "one from the impure side and one from the side of Adam".³⁸ *Zohar* also explains the words of Gen. 4, 2. "she bore in addition", as a reference to a twin sister of Abel, of whom Cain was jealous.³⁹

The other tradition speaks about Cain and Abel as the children of the demons. According to Rabbi Simeon, writing in the name of Rabbi Yeba the Older, Adam and Eve "were engendered in defilement through the attachment of the serpent and its rider Samael . . ." This can be proved, according to Rabbi Jose, because it is said: "And Adam knew his wife and *she* conceived and she bore Cain' and of Abel 'and *she* again bore his brother Cain' but of Seth it says 'and *he* bore in his likeness after his image'". Rabbi Simeon said that Adam was separated from his wife for 130 years and during that time he begot spirits and demons.⁴⁰

After Abel's death, Adam again felt drawn with desire to his wife and Seth was born. For the first time we find an explanation of his name based upon the Masoretic text: "R. Judah said: 'This name symbolised the reincarnation of the spirit which had been lost, being of the same letters as the word *shath* (set) in the sentence 'God has replaced (*shath*) for me another seed instead of Abel'".⁴¹

Unlike the other synagogal literature, *Zohar* does not provide

³⁴ Cf. *Zohar* I, *Bereshith* 57b, p. 184-185.

³⁵ Cf. Gen. 23, 9.

³⁶ Cf. *b. Erub.* 53a, ed. Goldschmidt II, p. 157.

³⁷ Cf. Gen. 23, 2.

³⁸ Cf. *Zohar* I, *Bereshith* 54a, p. 172.

³⁹ 54b, p. 172-173.

⁴⁰ 55a, p. 174.

⁴¹ 55a, p. 174.

much fresh material.⁴² A few details, however, call for our attention. With reference to Gen. 5, 1, which deals with the generations of Adam, it is said that Adam saw visions of the future generations including among others, David, to whom he gave seventy years of his own life. At that occasion he also saw Rabbi Akiba.

Adam also received from the angel Raziel a book with "supernal inscriptions containing sacred wisdom . . ." After the fall, this book was taken from Adam but, after having done penance by standing in the river Gihon until his body was all wrinkled and his face haggard, it was returned to him.⁴³ This book was handed down to Seth and his generation until Abraham. In this context we again notice the special position of Seth and his offspring, for "It was to Seth that all generations which have survived in the world and all the truly righteous of the world trace their descent".⁴⁴

In Zohar we also read about Adam being buried in a cave, situated here near the Garden of Eden: "For Adam had made a cave near the Garden and had hidden himself there with his wife. He knew it was near the Garden, because he saw a faint ray of light enter it from there, and therefore he desired to be buried in it . . ." ⁴⁵

f. *Summary of Traditions in the Synagogal Literature*

This literature contains a number of traditions concerning Seth and his generation. No attempt has been made to date them, since this appears to be impossible in most cases, even in those passages where the name of a rabbi is mentioned. This, however, does not mean that we cannot discern various tendencies and developments. We will try to indicate some of these.

The beginning of the book Genesis gave ample opportunity to speculate about Seth. Here we encounter not only two generations, one beginning with Cain and another with Seth, but also the intriguing remark that Seth was born "after the image" of Adam who in his turn was "after the image" of God. The problem was dealt with at a very early date by saying that Cain was a son of the

⁴² On p. 3 we quoted 37a, p. 138, where it is said that according to R. Hiya the descendants of Cain were the "sons of God" mentioned in Gen. 6, 1. The explanation is that Cain was of superhuman origin.

⁴³ 55b, p. 177, see also *Vita Adae et Evae* VI 1-2.

⁴⁴ 55b, p. 175-176.

⁴⁵ 57b, p. 184-185.

devil. Initially this was not said of Abel, obviously because Seth was born "in his place" (4, 25), which made him equal to Seth. But it was not long before Abel too was regarded as a son of the devil, thus making Seth the only son of Adam and Eve.

In these circumstances, it seemed unnecessary to speak at length about the two generations of Seth and Cain. Cain's generation lasted only a short time since it was destroyed in the flood. Man could therefore trace his ancestors to Noah and Noah could be traced back to Seth. At this stage nothing is said about the generation of Seth being particularly righteous compared with the Cainites.

In PRE for the first time, we read that the Sethites were righteous and the Cainites were wicked, the two generations being compared with each other. The immorality of the Cainites, whose daughters had intercourse with angels descended from heaven, is emphasized. All this, however, seems to be a simple development of already known traditions.

A few more conclusions can be added. From the above it appears that, in this literature, we are concerned not with Seth himself, but with the generation of Seth. Nothing is said about the name of Seth, although Gen. 4, 25 could have provided ample opportunity for this. Only in a late writing like Zohar is anything said about it. In Genesis Rabbah, we read something about Seth being "another seed", but this tradition did not originate because of the contents of Gen. 4, 25 but because the Davidic Messiah descended from "another seed", viz. Ruth.

In this summary, we shall not discuss certain traditions mentioned above, such as, for example, those concerning Seth's sisters, Adam's burial, ideas about Lamech and the fall of the angels. In the synagogal literature they do not add anything to our knowledge of Jewish ideas about Seth. Some of these traditions and others such as those concerning a book of heavenly wisdom handed down by Adam to Seth to be found in Zohar, will be dealt with in the following chapters.

Here, all that can be said is that the little attention given to Seth might be a reaction to the honour given to him in Christian and Gnostic literature, but this problem cannot be dealt with before we have gone into other Jewish literature.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Here are added a few remarks found in the rabbinical literature. According to *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan* ch. 2, p. 23 Seth was born circumcised.

g. *Jubilees*

The Book of Jubilees, written about 100 B.C., contains traditions already known from the sources mentioned above. Here too, we read about the birth of Cain, Abel, Seth and their sisters, but we are not told that they were born simultaneously. After the expulsion from paradise (3, 22), Cain was born between the years 64 and 70, Abel between the years 71 and 77 and his sister Āwân between the years 78 and 84 (4, 1). After Abel's death (4, 2), Seth was born in 130 (4, 7). Here, Gen. 4, 7 is quoted as reading: "God has raised up a second seed to us on earth instead of Abel". The words "raised up" remind us of ἐξάνεστησεν in the LXX. Next Azûrâ was born between 134 and 140 (4, 8). Finally, it is said that Adam and Eve received another nine sons (4, 10).⁴⁷ Needless to say, nothing is said here about Eve having had intercourse with the devil.

Jubilees also speaks about the two generations of Cain and Seth. We read that Cain married his sister Āwân and that Enosh was their son (4, 9). Cain built a city which he named after his son (4, 9, cf. Gen. 4, 17). No more is said about his generation, but his death is recorded. We are told that a house fell on him and that he was killed by its stones. This punishment is regarded as a justified, "for with a stone he had killed Abel, and by a stone was he killed in a righteous way" (4, 31).

Here we are obviously dealing with two traditions. According to the first of these traditions Abel was killed by a stone⁴⁸ and, according to the second, the name of the town, נֹד (Nod), where Cain went to live (cf. Gen. 4, 16) was said to be derived from the verb נָד which means "to tremble" or "to move". According to

According to *b. Sukka* 52b, ed. Goldschmidt III, p. 402, Seth is one of the shepherds at the time of the Messiah, also in *Song of Songs Rabbah* VIII 9, 3, ed. H. Simon, in: *Midrash Rabbah*, ed. by H. Freedman and M. Simon, London 1961, p. 317. According to *Numbers Rabbah* I, IV 8, p. 181-182, Adam handed down his priestly garments to Seth and so on to later generations. This does not, however, make any difference to Ginzberg's conclusion in *Legends* V, p. 149 that "Hardly anything is known in the older rabbinic literature of the glorification of Seth. . ."

⁴⁷ See also Epiphanius, *Pan.* 39 6 5, ed. K. Holl, in: *Griech. Christl. Schriftst.*, Epiphanius II, Leipzig 1922, p. 76. Apart from the comment in *Chron. of Jerahmeel* quoted on p. 4 we may refer to XXVI 2, p. 54-55, where another eleven sons and eight daughters are mentioned.

⁴⁸ See *Ps. Jonathan Gen.* 4, 8 and *Genesis Rabbah* XXII 8, p. 188, later taken over by *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer* XXI, p. 154.

this tradition, then, Cain was living in a town which was visited by earth-quakes.⁴⁹

All this gives the impression that here too, Cain's death meant the end of his generation, for Jub. 22, 12 speaks of "all the seed of Seth" which obviously points to mankind in its totality.

A more detailed account is in Jubilees given of Seth's generation. Seth married his sister Azûrâ and they had a son called Enosh in the year 235 (4, 11). The names of the generation of Seth mentioned in Jub. 4.12-28 are in accordance with those given in Gen. 5, 6-32. Adam is said to have died in the year 930 and "all his sons buried him in the land of his creation,"⁵⁰ and he was the first to be buried in the earth" (4, 29).

After referring to Noah's sons (4, 33), Jubilees speaks of the "angels of God" who came to the daughters of men, who were "very beautiful to look upon" (5, 1, cf. Gen. 6, 1). As a result of their union, giants were born and the flood covered the earth.

The story of the descendants of Seth is interrupted by a digression in the text taken over from the document known as the Ethiopic Book of Enoch. Here we read that, at the time of Jared, the decline of mankind began with the coming of the angels to earth (1 Enoch 6, 1-8). A similar story is found in Jubilees where it is said that, at the time of Jared, the Watchers came to earth to instruct the children of men to do "judgement and righteousness on earth" (4, 15).

It is obvious that the story was inspired by the name Jared, which was thought to be derived from the verb ירד, "to descend". It is, however, not clear why Jubilees speaks about the descent of the angels in such a positive way. The only explanation is that Jubilees was attempting to combine two traditions concerning the event, one describing how the angels descended at the time of Jared and the other, in agreement with the Masoretic Text, how they came down at the time of Noah (Gen. 5, 32-6, 4). In saying that

⁴⁹ In the LXX we read (Gen. 4, 14) about Cain himself *στένων καὶ τρέμων* *ἐπὶ τῇ γῆς*, but Philo, *De Post. Caini* 22, has this to say about the land in which Cain lived: *ἔστι δὲ ἡ καλεῖται σάλος*, cf. 32: *φησὶ γὰρ Ναὶδ τὸν κλύον* and *De Cherub.* 12: *ἐρμηνεύεται δὲ Ναὶδ μὲν σάλος*. See also Ps. Philo, *Antiquit.* II 1, ed. G. Kisch, in: *Public. in Mediaeval Studies. The University of Notre Dame X*, Notre Dame, Indiana 1949, p. 113: *Cain autem habitavit in terra tremente*, and Jerome, *Lib. Interpret. Hebraic. Nom.* 9, 3, ed. P. de Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra*, Hildesheim 1966 (reprint 1887²), p. 35: *Naid motus sive fluctuatio*.

⁵⁰ See p. 42-43.

initially the angels came with good intentions, but that these became corrupted, Jubilees was able to do justice to both sources.⁵¹

The influence of I Enoch on the Book of Jubilees is particularly clear in the passage about Enoch himself, who is described as the first man who was able to write (4, 17, cf. I Enoch 12, 3) and who "wrote down the signs of heaven according to the order of their separate months in a book" (4, 17-18, cf. I Enoch 72-81). During a vision in his sleep, Enoch also saw the things "as it will happen to the children of man throughout their generations until the day of judgement" (4, 19, cf. I Enoch 83-90). After having restated that the angels showed him everything on earth and in heaven (4, 21, cf. I Enoch 72-81) the Book of Jubilees tells us that Enoch testified to the Watchers who had sinned with the daughters of men; for these had begun to unite themselves, so as to be defiled, with the daughters of men (4, 22, cf. I Enoch 12, 4-5). As a result, God brought the flood "upon all the land of Eden" (4, 24).

The Watchers are again mentioned in chapter 8 of the Book of Jubilees, where it is said that Arpachshad had a son called Cainam,⁵² to whom he taught the art of writing. He also looked for a place to build a city. We read here: "And he found a writing which former (generations) had carved on the rock, and he read what was thereon, and he transcribed it and sinned owing to it; for it contained the teaching of the Watchers in accordance, with which they used to observe the omens of the sun and the moon and the stars in all signs of heaven" (8, 1.4).

This calls for our attention, because, in the passage about the coming of the Watchers, nothing is said about their teaching astrology. On the contrary, knowledge of astrology was believed to be a privilege of Enoch (4, 17 and 21). The intention of this passage, however, is to point out that a knowledge of astrology is not a divine gift but a diabolical concern.⁵³

⁵¹ The same idea is found in *Chron. of Jerahmeel* XXV 1-7, p. 52-53, Ps. Clement, *Homil.* VIII 12-14, ed. B. Rehm. Zum Druck besorgt durch J. Irmscher. Zweite verbesserte Auflage besorgt von P. Paschke, in: *Griech. Christl. Schriftst.*, Berlin 1969.

⁵² Cainam is encountered only in Gen. 10, 22 according to the LXX, being a son of Shem and in 10, 24 as a son of Arphaxad.

⁵³ Rejection of astrological knowledge we also find in *Zohar* I, *Bereshith* 56a, p. 179: "R. Eliazer said: In the time of Enosh, men were skilled in magic and divination, and the art of controlling the heavenly forces . . . From them these arts descended to the generation of the Flood and were practised for evil purposes . . .", cf. also *Orac. Sibyll.* III 218-235. In I Enoch 69, 8, it

From this it appears that the author of Jubilees combined a story of creation as far as the flood with traditions concerning angels descending at the time of Jared which were taken from those found in the Ethiopic Book of Enoch.

Finally, we are bound to say that the author does not show any tendency to devote special attention to Seth.

h. *Vita Adae et Evae*

According to this document, which can be dated before the year 70 A.D., when Adam was 130 years old, Abel was killed by Cain (XXIII 2). Next we read that "thereafter"—thus in agreement with the Hebrew Text—Adam knew his wife, begot a son and called his name Seth (XXIII 3). Adam says that he has received a son in place of Abel (XXIV 1). We notice that in this passage the word "again" of Gen. 4, 25 is missing and in the second place that, in agreement with the Targums, Adam speaks of a "son" and not of "another seed".

The omission of "again" might arouse our suspicion that Cain and Abel were not begotten by Adam. In connection with their birth, we read that Adam did penance after being expelled from paradise and that Eve went to the West to mourn and weep because she had seduced Adam, "while she had in her womb offspring of three months old" (XVIII). During the birth of Cain, Adam is said to be again with her and, helped by Michael, she bore a son who was "shining" (XXI). The idea that a child is "shining" may be an indication that he had been begotten by a superhuman being.⁵⁴

Adam is then said to go to the West again, accompanied by Eve and Cain. The story continues: "For thereafter Eve conceived and bore a son, whose name was Abel" (XXII 3). Here too, nothing is said about Adam in connection with this birth. This may show that we cannot exclude the possibility that, according to this writing, neither Cain and Abel were regarded as Adam's children.

In the rest of the Life of Adam and Eve, nothing is said about Cain and Abel. Seth is obviously considered to be the founder of mankind. But apart from this, he plays an important part since

is said that one of the fallen angels taught the secrets of their wisdom which among other things, consisted of "writing with ink and paper".

⁵⁴ See p. 3-4.

he is allowed to know the secrets which were revealed to Adam when he had eaten from the tree of knowledge and had begun to understand what was going to happen (XXIX 1-3).⁵⁵ He knew about the coming of the law, and the temple (XXIX 4), the transgression of Israel, the destruction of the temple and the exile (5), the return and the rebuilding of the temple (6), the new transgression of the people and the coming of God on earth, after which the house of God was to be honoured in that age and their enemies would no longer be able to harm those who believed in God, the coming of the beautiful people and the punishment of the impious (7). According to this passage in the *Vita*, everyone would obey God, men would not change their works and, at that time, they would be purified by water from their sins, although those who were unwilling to be purified by water would be condemned (8-10).⁵⁶

When Adam was going to die, we read, his sons came together "in the house of prayer, where they used to worship the Lord God" (XXX 2-3).⁵⁷ Seth suggests that he should go to paradise to ask God to send an angel "to bring me the fruit, for which thou has longed" (XXXI 1). Adam does not give his permission for Seth to go and speaks about his disobedience in paradise (XXXII 1-XXXV 3), but he does ask Eve and Seth to go to the neighbourhood of paradise to ask for a drop of the oil of life from the tree of mercy (XXXVI 1-2).⁵⁸ On the way, Seth is attacked by a beast and Eve says: "Accursed beast! How (is it that) thou hast not feared to let thyself loose against the image of God . . ." (XXXVII 1-3). The beast leaves "the image of God" (XXXIX 2). In answer to their request, Michael says that they are not to receive any oil because it is to be given at the end of days (XL 1-XLII 1).⁵⁹ Seth and Eve

⁵⁵ For the increase of Adam's knowledge after eating from the tree, see Theophilus, *Ad Autol.* II 25, and Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III 22 4 and IV 38-39.

⁵⁶ Adam's knowledge of the future, cf. *b. Sanh.* 38b, ed. Goldschmidt VIII, p. 610: "So sagte Reš Laqiš: Es heisst: das ist das Buch über die Nachkommen Adams; dies lehrt, dass der Heilige, gepriesen sei er, ihm jedes Zeitalter und seine Gelehrten, jedes Zeitalter und seine Weisen zeigte. . .". The same in *b. Ab. Zara* 5a, ed. Goldschmidt IX, p. 446, and *Aboth de Rubbi Nathan* ch. 31, p. 126.

⁵⁷ See p. 42-45.

⁵⁸ See E. C. Quinn, *The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life*, Chicago 1967.

⁵⁹ In the *Acts of Pilate* (Latin A) III (XIX), in: M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford 1924, p. 126-128, this story is mentioned again saying that this has been fulfilled at the time of Jesus' baptism in the river Jordan.

return knowing that Adam will die within six days (XLIII 1-2). They take with them nard, crocus, calamus and cinnamon (3).

After six days, Adam dies. Seth is allowed to see that Adam is entrusted to Michael until the day of judgement (XLVI 1-XLVIII 3). Adam and Abel are then buried by Michael and Uriel. This takes place "in the parts of paradise" before the eyes of Seth and his mother (XLVIII 5-6). They receive the command to bury other people in the same way.

Six days later, Eve dies. Before that she tells all her sons and daughters what the angel Michael said to her when Adam transgressed the command of God (XLIX 1-2). Therefore God will bring upon the race the anger of his judgement, first by water and then by fire (XLIX 1-3). For that reason they have to make tables of stone and of clay so that the life of Adam and Eve could be written on them. If the Lord intended to judge the human race by water, the tablets of clay would be dissolved and those of stone would remain; but if the judgement were by fire, the tables of stone would be broken up and those of clay would be baked (L 1-2).⁶⁰ After Eve's death these tables were made by Seth (L 3-LI 3)

i. *The Apocalypse of Moses*

This work begins by saying that Adam knew his wife, went up to the rising of the sun and abode there for eighteen years and two months and that Eve conceived two sons: Adiaphotos,⁶¹ who was called Cain, and Amilabes,⁶² who was called Abel (I 1-3).

Here, then, we find the well-known idea that Cain and Abel were twins. It is, however, not clear whether they were Adam's sons. We may assume that the name Adiaphotos—although the meaning is not clear—is intended to show that the bearer was "shining", which points to a superhuman—and in this case diabolical—origin.

In IV 1-2, we read that Adam begot Seth from Eve. Adam says here that he has a son in the place of Abel. Again, in agreement with the rabbinical literature, we find the word "son" instead of "seed".⁶³ This is followed by the observation that Adam begot

⁶⁰ See also p. 24-25.

⁶¹ 'Αδιάφωτον is read in MS.D. We also find Διάφωτον in A; Διάφορον in B and Διάφατον in C.

⁶² We find 'Αμιλαβές in AD, 'Αμηλαβές in B, and 'Αμιλαβέστατον in C.

⁶³ See p. 4.

thirty sons and thirty daughters (V 1).⁶⁴ Before he dies, he invites his children to come to him (V 2).

From here onwards, the text closely resembles that of the *Vita Adae et Evae*. Seth offers to go to paradise in order to collect the fruit of paradise (VI 1-2), but Adam refused to let him go, recalling his original disobedience.⁶⁵ He asked Eve and Seth to go to the neighbourhood of paradise to seek "the tree out of which the oil floweth" so that he may anoint himself and have rest from his illness (IX 2-3).⁶⁶ Seth is attacked by a beast but it is kept off, since Seth is the image of God (X 1-XII 2).⁶⁷ Seth does not receive the oil because it is to be given at the end of time (XIII 1-5). Michael says that Adam will die in three days (XIII 6).⁶⁸

After their return, Adam asks Eve to speak about their fall (XIV 1-3). She says that, although they have lost their glory (XX 1 and XXI 6) Adam is allowed to take with him "incense and sweet odour", "sweet spices and fragrant herbs from paradise and seeds for his food", which consist of "crocus, nard, calamus, cinnamon and other seeds for his food" (XXIX 4-7).⁶⁹

Eve then sees Adam going up to heaven (XXXIV 1-2) and Seth points out that the heavens are opened and that the angels are praying on behalf of Adam while the sun and the moon are darkened (XXV 1-XXXV 3). Adam's body is brought to paradise (XXXVII 4-6). Only Seth is present when the angels come to bury Adam's body. Three angels "strew linen cloths and cover the body of Adam and bring oil of fragrance and pour it over him" (XXXVIII 1-5). Then Adam is buried with Abel "in the spot where God found the dust" and many fragrant spices are brought by the angels and placed in the earth (XL 6-7).⁷⁰ Six days later Eve dies and Seth is taught by Michael how to bury her. She is finally buried with Adam and Abel (XLII 1-XLIII 5).⁷¹

⁶⁴ Cf. *Vita Adae et Evae* XXIV 2, where sixty-three children, including Cain, Abel and Seth, are mentioned.

⁶⁵ Cf. *Vita Adae et Evae* XXX 1-3.

⁶⁶ Cf. *Vita Adae et Evae* XXXVI 1-2.

⁶⁷ Cf. *Vita Adae et Evae* XXXVII 1-XXXIX 2, where the beast "attacked and bit Seth" (XXXVII 1).

⁶⁸ Cf. *Vita Adae et Evae* XLIII 1, where is spoken of six days.

⁶⁹ Cf. *Vita Adae et Evae* XLIII 3, here Eve and Seth take these spices with them.

⁷⁰ Cf. *Jubilees* 4, 29.

⁷¹ Cf. *Vita Adae et Evae* L 3-LI 2.

j. *Other Jewish Pseudepigraphical Writings*

In this part we shall deal in particular with the Apocalypse of Enoch.⁷² In the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (I Enoch 37, 1), Enoch is called "the son of Jared, the son of Mahalalel, the son of Cainam, the son of Enoch, the son of Seth, the son of Adam". This is the well-known genealogy of Gen. 5, 4-18. Enoch (Slav.) 33, 10 (MS. A) refers to the "handwritings of thy (that is, Enoch's) fathers Adam, Seth, Enosh, Cainam, Mahalalel and Jared". This applies to revelations from ante-diluvian times.

For the rest we have only to deal with a long passage in I Enoch 85-90⁷³ usually known as the second dream vision. This vision provides a historical survey from the time of the creation of the world until the coming of the Messiah. In it, history is described symbolically, animals taking the place of men. The period from creation until the flood, in which we are particularly interested, can be found in 85, 1 to 89, 9.

According to this passage in I Enoch a white bull "came forth from the earth"⁷⁴ and after it "came a heifer, and along with this (latter) came forth two bulls, one of them black and the other red" (85, 3). The black bull killed the red bull and went with the heifer. Many oxen came from him (85, 4-5). The first cow went off to look for the red bull, unable to find it, she began to lament.⁷⁵ The first

⁷² In Ecclus. 49, 16, Seth is mentioned among those who are honoured. With him are Shem and Enoch, "but above every living thing was the beauteous glory of Adam".

⁷³ Starting from the evidence in ch. 90, scholars usually date this vision to the Maccabaeen era, hesitating between the period before the death of Judas in 160/1 and the time of John Hyrcanus between 135 and 105; see R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. II: *Pseudepigrapha*, Oxford 1913, p. 170-171. Charles suggests the time before the death of Judas, see also R. H. Charles, *Eschatology*, New York 1963 (reprint of 1913²), p. 220, followed by W. Bousset and H. Gressman, *Die Religion des Judentum im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, Tübingen 1926³, p. 12. O. Pflöger, *Henochbücher*, in: *Rel. in Gesch. und Gegenwart* III², c. 222-225, c. 223, suggests Judas Maccabaeus or John Hyrcanus. O. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung* . . ., p. 838-839, is of the same opinion, but adds Alexander Jannaeus (103-76); see also C.C. Torrey, *Alexander Jannaeus and the Archangel Michael*, in: *Vet. Test.* 4 1954, p. 208-211.

⁷⁴ Cf. *Genesis Rabbah* XXII 2, p. 181: "In the past, Adam was created from the ground, and Eve from Adam. . ."

⁷⁵ The idea that Eve lamented Cain's death comes from a play on the words אבל and הבל. This tradition is also present in *Jubil.* 4, 7 and Philo, *De Migr. Abrahami* 74. The idea was taken over in Christian literature, cf. Jerome, *Lib. Interpret. Hebraic.* 2, 18, *Nom.*, ed. P. de Lagarde p. 27 and other passages.

bull quietened her and after that she bore another bull and after him many bulls and black cows (85, 6-8).

From this passage we may conclude that Cain and Abel, the black and the red bull, were probably not regarded as Adam's children. According to the text, not only did they "come forth" with Eve, but also only Eve looked for them. The first time that Adam, the white bull, and Eve, the first cow, are mentioned together, we read that Seth was born.

Both Cain, whose marriage is mentioned, and Seth had numerous offspring. From Cain came "many oxen" (85, 5) and from Seth "white bulls" (85, 9).

The text goes on to say that a star fell from heaven and "it arose and ate and pastured amongst those oxen" (86, 1). The "large and black oxen changed their stalls and . . . began to live with each other" (86, 2). Then many stars cast themselves down from heaven and became bulls among those cattle and pastured with them (86, 3). They began "to cover the cows of the oxen and they all became pregnant and bare elephants, camels and asses . . ." (86, 4).

In this passage we read of the descent of the "sons of God", who are here identified with angels. It is not clear why one angel is said to come first and later many angels.⁷⁶ They become bulls and associated with the "black oxen".⁷⁷ This appears to imply that they had intercourse with the generation of Cain only.

We next read of the descent of archangels from heaven to bind the stars and to cast them into an abyss (ch. 88). One of the archangels went to a white bull who became a man and built a great vessel (89, 1). Three bulls dwelt with him in the vessel. One of the bulls was white, the other red and the third black (89, 9).⁷⁸ Abraham

⁷⁶ Ps. *Jonathan Gen.* 6, 4 might be a parallel: "Shemhazai and Azazel fell from heaven and were on the earth in those days, and also after that, when the sons of the great ones came into the daughters of men. . .", where we are obviously dealing with two stages.

⁷⁷ Angels assuming the form of men are also found in *Test. Reuben* 5, 5-7: μετασχηματίζοντο γὰρ εἰς ἄνδρα; cf. also Philo, *Questions and Answers on Genesis*, ed. M. Marcus, in: *Loeb Class. Libr.*, Philo, Supplement I, I 92 (on Gen. 6, 4), p. 6r: "But the substance of angels is spiritual, however, it often happens that they imitate the forms of men and for immediate purposes, as in respect of knowing women for the sake of begetting Haiks; *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer* XXII, p. 160 and Pseudo Clement, *Homil.* VIII 12-13, p. 126, 16-127, II.

⁷⁸ This is basically the same situation as at the beginning, represented by Cain, Abel and Seth. Philo, *Questions* I 88, p. 55, referring to Gen. 5, 32

belonged to the generation of the white bull. The people of Israel is also seen as a nation of white bulls (89, 10). Finally we read that a white bull was born and transformed his own people into white bulls (90, 37-38).

This means that the generation of Seth, the white bulls, as represented by Noah, was saved from the flood and that the people of God came from Seth. Finally the Messiah will be born, again a white bull. He was to bring together the people of God once again as a group of white bulls. From this we may conclude that the Messiah and the people of God belong to the generation of Seth.

In this ancient tradition, we notice that the generations of Cain and Seth are treated separately. The Cainites perish in the flood but in Ham—like Cain, a black bull—his generation survived.

k. *Summary of Traditions in the Pseudepigraphical Literature*

In this summary too, we are concerned only with traditions about Seth. In this literature, a great deal is said about Adam and the fall of the angels. That is of importance in connection with ideas about Seth and his generation in writings of a later date, but here they are not dealt with associated with stories about Seth.

Most of our information comes from the Book of Jubilees, the *Vita Adae et Evae*, the Apocalypse of Moses and the Ethiopic Book of Enoch. In Jubilees, Seth does not play a very important part. Cain, Abel and Seth are children of Adam and Eve. The Cainites are obviously thought to have been destroyed during the flood. This means that mankind as a whole traces its origin back to Seth. It is only before the flood that Enoch appears to have played an important part.

In the *Vita Adae et Evae* and the Apocalypse of Moses, what we probably have is a tradition concerning both Cain and Abel as children of the devil. This, however, did not result in a story about two different generations. In these writings Cain and his generation is utterly neglected. Seth is given renewed importance in these writings, because he was entrusted with knowledge about Adam and Eve before the fall. He was commanded to write this information on tablets to prevent it from being lost during the flood and

writes that Shem stands for good, Ham for evil and Japheth for indifferent, an idea also found in Ambrose, *de Noe* 2, 3, ed. C. Schenkl, in: *Corp. Script. Eccles. Latin.* 32 I, p. 414: *Huic vero tres filii nati, Sem Cham Iapeth, quae nomine significant "bonum" et "malum" et "indifferens"*.

other disasters in the future. It was, however, only to Seth that this knowledge was given. Nothing is said to indicate that his generation possessed it. It was obviously intended that mankind in general should retain this knowledge and not a particular group. We also read in these writings that Seth was involved in Adam's burial. He witnessed his glorious ascent and was ordered to bury his body.

Finally we meet in the Ethiopic Book of Enoch the idea of two separate generations of Cain and Seth. These are clearly different, since the one is characterized as "black" and the other as "white". It appears that the angels associated with the Cainites only. The Cainites perished in the flood but this does not mean that from then onwards only Seth's generation existed. Ham continued Cain's generation and had the same black colour. A direct line was traced from Seth to the Messiah and his people, since both he and his own are compared with "white bulls", being the same metaphor as being applied to Adam and Seth at the beginning of the parable.

This means that in this literature two ideas were added to the picture of Seth. In the first place he was regarded as possessing special knowledge about the time before Adam's expulsion from paradise. In the second place he was seen as the first of a generation which was to be distinguished from that of Cain not only before but also after the flood.

1. *Josephus*

In *Antiquitates* I 60-65, we find a genealogy of Cain's descendants which is identical with that given in Gen. 4, 17-24. In this context too, Josephus gives a long list of Cain's vices. He indulged in every bodily pleasure. He increased his substance by rapine and violence. He invented weights and measures. He established territorial boundaries and built a city, fortifying its walls.

It seems that Josephus also wished to say that this generation was extirpated by mutual quarrels and manslaughter: "Thus, within Adam's lifetime, the descendants of Cain sank to the depths of depravity, and inheriting and imitating one another's vices, each ended worse than the last" (cf. I 66: ἐπὶ δὲ ζῶντος Ἀδάμου καίους τοὺς ἐγγόνους πονηροτάτους συνέβη γενέσθαι κατὰ διαδοχὴν καὶ μίμησιν ἄλλου ἄλλου χεῖρονα τελευτῶντα). After this, Josephus has no more to say about the Cainites.

In I 67, we read that Adam longed for children after Abel's

death.⁷⁹ As in LXX, this happened in the year 230. In 68, we read that other children were also born after Seth. Josephus does not, however, write about them and speaks only about Seth and his descendants. These were virtuous and all lived together in one country. They discovered the science of the heavenly bodies and their orderly disposition (σοφίαν τε τὴν περὶ τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὴν τούτων διακόσμησιν ἐπενόησαν).

This is repeated in I 108, where it is said that the Sethites' diet was conducive to longevity. The reason that Josephus gives was that in this way they were able to study astronomy and geometry. He uses the following words: "they could have predicted nothing with certainty had they not lived for six hundred years, that being the complete period of the great year".⁸⁰

Since Adam had predicted that the universe would be destroyed by a violent fire and a mighty deluge of water, the Sethites erected two pillars, one of brick and one of stone, on which their discoveries were inscribed. If the pillar of brick disappeared in the deluge, that of stone would remain, so that men would know from it what was carved on it both their scientific discoveries and that they had also erected a pillar of brick. Josephus knew that the stone pillar still existed in the land of Seiris.⁸¹ The brick pillar was obviously destroyed during the flood at the time of Noah.⁸²

Here, we may add a few comments on this story and the account in the *Vita Adae et Evae* of the tablets on which the life of Adam was inscribed. In both writings, it is said that something had

⁷⁹ See *Genesis Rabbah* XXIII 5, p. 195, and p. 6.

⁸⁰ This appears to be a Babylonian influence see, Appendix I.

⁸¹ See G. J. Reinink, *Das Land "Seiris" (Šir) und das Volk der Sever in jüdischen und christlichen Traditionen*, in: *Journ. for the Study of Judaism*, 6 1975, p. 72-85.

⁸² Cf. the *Chron. of Jerahmeel* XXIV, 7, p. 51, where it is said that Jubal, having heard of the judgement which Adam had predicted, that is the flood, dispersion and fire, inscribed the science of music upon pillars, one made of white marble, and the other of brick, so that if one crumbled away on account of water, the other would be saved. The same idea is found in XXVI 16, p. 56, where we read that Jubal corrupted the earth with music. In XXXII 4, p. 70, we read that Zoroaster wrote down the seven sciences on fourteen pillars, seven of brass and seven of brick, "so that they should be proof against the water—of the flood—and against the fire—of the day of judgement. A Christian influence is likely here since the same is found in Hugh of St. Victor, *Anot. elucidat. in Pentat.*; in *Gen. XI*, in: *MPL* 175, c. 49C: "... Zoroaster, inventor et auctor maleficiae mathematicae artis; qui etiam septem liberales artes quatuordecim columnis, septem aeneis et septem lateritiis, contra utrumque diluvium in utilitatem posterorum praeviciens scripsit.

to be preserved from ante-diluvian times. In Josephus, we are concerned with astrological knowledge and, in the *Vita Adae et Evae*, with knowledge about the time before Adam's expulsion from paradise. Josephus speaks about the possibility of a "destruction of universe" which was predicted by Adam although he does not make clear when this destruction will take place. The *Vita Adae et Evae* is concerned with a future judgement first by water and then by fire. Josephus, on the other hand, speaks about a judgement first by fire and then by water and he also informs his readers that one of the pillars is still in existence.

We are clearly dealing here with a tradition concerning a destruction either by water and fire or by fire and water. Josephus, identified the destruction by water with the biblical story of the flood. If the *Vita Adae et Evae* contains an account of a judgement by water and fire, we may assume that it is referring to the last judgement, but this appears to be secondary for two reasons. In the first place, we have already seen that Josephus does not connect this idea with a coming judgement and, in the second place, we are bound to ask whether knowledge preserved until after the last judgement has any value. This means that both writings must have drawn on a tradition concerning a universal destruction by fire and water which were identified with the flood and last judgement given in the Bible. This tradition is discussed in Appendix I.

Josephus finally states that the Sethites believed in God for seven generations, but that they then abandoned the customs of their fathers in favour of a life of depravity. This means that apostasy began after the time of Enoch. Josephus goes on to say: "For many angels of God consorted with women and begat sons who were overbearing and disdainful of every virtue".⁸³ He concludes by saying: "In fact the deeds that tradition ascribes to them resemble that audacious exploits told by the Greeks of the giants". Noah tried to warn them but they would not obey. For this reason, he moved to another country. He was the only one saved during the flood (I 72-76).

m. *Philo of Alexandria*

In his *De Posteritate Caini*, Philo mentions Seth several times. The observations made in this book are usually in agreement with

⁸³ The opinion that "Josephus mit den 'ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ' schon irgendwie an die Sethiten dachte", see Dexinger, *op. cit.*, p. 96, is not acceptable.

those that he makes in *Quaestiones in Genesim*, according to which the name Seth means the one "who drinks water".⁸⁴ In *De Post. Caini*, Philo says several times that his name means ποτισμός.⁸⁵

He also discusses the words ἐξάνεστησεν μοι which are found in Gen. 4, 25 (LXX). In this context, he observes that none of the divine seeds fall to earth, but that they all go upwards. It is interesting to note that Philo is obviously referring to the words σπέρμα ἕτερον, "another seed", in this explanation.⁸⁶ But it is also clear that he is emphasizing Seth's divine character.

In discussing Gen. 5, 3, Philo asks why Cain's genealogy was not continued and gives the answer that Cain was separated from Adam and that Seth was given the honour of primogeniture (τῆς πρεσβείας) because "scripture does not associate the foolish and the violent homicide with the order of either reason or number. . ."⁸⁷

This shows that Philo made a distinction between the generations of Cain and Seth. This is not new in Jewish literature, but it usually applies only to the time before the flood. Philo makes general statements about the two generations. All men who attribute what is beautiful in creation to God's grace belong to the generation of Seth⁸⁸ and his is the seed of human virtue (σπέρμα . . . ἀνθρωπίνης ἀρετῆς). Philo says that this generation will not leave mankind. Of Seth's generation, which is present everywhere and at all times, ten representatives were, according to Philo, known up to the time of Noah, another ten to the time of Abraham and another seven up to the time of Moses.⁸⁹ It was to the other generation or "seed" that the daughters of Lot—a godless and unholy seed (τὴν ἄσεβη καὶ ἀναγνὸν αὐτῶν σποράν)—belonged. These were refused admittance to the divine assembly.⁹⁰

We may conclude by saying that Philo's writings on the subject mark a very important development in the Jewish traditions concerning Seth. Philo was as far as we know the first Jewish author to take as his point of departure the idea that Seth was "another seed". These words are explained as being another "generation", namely the generation which began with Seth and led up to Abra-

⁸⁴ Philo, *Questions* . . . I 78, p. 49.

⁸⁵ Philo, *De post. Caini* 10, 124 and 125.

⁸⁶ Philo, *Questions* . . . II 79, p. 170.

⁸⁷ Philo, *Questions* . . . I 81, p. 50.

⁸⁸ Philo, *De Post. Caini* 42.

⁸⁹ Philo, *De Post. Caini* 173-174.

⁹⁰ Philo, *De Post. Caini* 177.

ham and Moses. We may accept it as a traditional genealogy, but, according to Philo, it was a generation of righteous men that was not connected in any way with any historically known group, tribe or nation.⁹¹

n. *Seth in Jewish Literature*

The origin and development of some of the ideas about Seth in Jewish literature can be explained by the fact that the beginning of Genesis was composed of two sources. In P, we read that Adam's generation was "after his likeness". We do not read about men sinning before the time of Noah. In the other source, J, we read of the gradual deterioration of mankind, and of Adam's being given a son, called Seth to take the place of Abel. For this reason, mankind did not need to go back to Cain in order to discover its origin. The fusion of these sources made Seth, who was "after Adam's likeness", a striking figure in a decaying world.

In later Jewish literature, as we have seen, an attempt is made to explain a number of problems raised by the complex origin of the first chapters of Genesis. Generally following the genealogy of P, in which Cain was not to be found, Cain was often regarded as a son of the devil and sometimes both Cain and Abel were thought to be his sons. This emphasized the importance of Seth, but as he was simply the only real son of Adam and Eve, he was only the first in Adam's genealogy. In some cases Seth's and Cain's generations were contrasted with each other, but there was no real interest in Cain's generation. The wickedness of the Cainites was the reason why they perished during the flood. In a document as the *Vita Adae et Evae*, Cain's name is mentioned, but nothing is said about his offspring.

In a few texts we notice more general statements about the Cainites and Sethites. In the dream vision of the Ethiopic Enoch the two generations can be traced from the beginning until the coming of the Messiah. This was made possible because Ham was regarded in this text as Cain's successor. In Philo's writings, all

⁹¹ Philo writes in several passages about the fallen angels. In *De Gigantibus* 18, it is said that not all the daughters of Cain had intercourse with the angels, but only those who were driven by their carnal desires. *Questions* I 92, p. 60-61, with reference to Gen. 6, 4, says that the giants were the offsprings of angels and mortal women. In this context Philo also says that Moses sometimes called the angels "sons of God", a name which was, he believes, usually used to describe excellent men.

righteous men are called the "seed of Seth" and the wicked are known as the "seed of Cain". A similar view is found in the *Pirḳê de Rabbi Eliezer*, where it is said that "all the generations of the righteous" descend from Seth and "all the generations of the wicked" from Cain.

The descent of the "sons of God" alluded to in Gen. 6 is not often mentioned in connection with the generations of Cain and Seth, but it is said that these had intercourse with the "daughters of men" with whom the Cainites were identified.

It is only in the pseudepigraphical literature of the Old Testament that special virtues or qualities are ascribed to Seth himself. According to the *Vita Adae et Evae*, he possessed information about the time before Adam's expulsion from paradise and had to write it down on tablets. According to Josephus, Seth and the Sethites were experts in astrology and this knowledge also had to be preserved for a later generation. We might, however, add that it is nowhere stated that this information was known to any special group of people. Seth was also involved in Adam's burial, at least according to the *Vita Adae et Evae* and the Apocalypse of Moses.

Surveying the evidence we may say that in the rabbinical literature we do not observe any special interest in Seth. Any passage dealing especially with Seth or his generation is almost always primarily of an explanatory character. Only in very late writings of this kind do we meet with a few other observations, most of which seem to have originated in the pseudepigraphical literature.

In this pseudepigraphical literature, more attention is given to Seth himself. The authors of these texts wished to give information not known from other sources. Above all, Seth is the main source of information about life in paradise and the life of Adam and Eve.

This means that in the following sections, we shall give attention to two subjects in particular in connection with Seth. In the first place, we shall consider ideas about Seth himself and the knowledge that he possessed; at the same time we shall attempt to trace what happened to this knowledge and to whom it was handed down. In the second place, we shall investigate the question of Seth's generation and what happened to it.

Before we go into these two main themes, however, we must examine the problem of Seth in Samaritan literature and the question of his name. It will also be necessary to devote a chapter to various isolated facts related to the life of Seth.

CHAPTER TWO

SETH IN SAMARITAN LITERATURE

In Samaritan literature Adam is highly praised. Starting with the words "Let us make man in our image and after our likeness" (Gen. 1, 26), the Samaritan writing *Molad Mosheb* tells us that God took his light and placed it shining between the eyes of Adam. After that God fashioned Adam out of dust and called him by the name "Adam".¹

The real reason for giving Adam the privilege of possessing this divine light was, however, that he was the first in the generation which led to Moses. God "placed in him (Adam) the secret of the name of Moses over all other creations".² "From the very beginning", we read, "we find some of the light of Moses transferred to his face".³ The angels exalted Adam only for the sake of the prophet who was destined to come from him.⁴

It was also because of Moses that "God was appeased regarding Adam's mischief".⁵ But even his fall was not something only to be regretted. When God said that man had become "one of us, to know good and evil", the Samaritan author continues: "This is a reference to the messenger, to whom there is no likeness, our Master Moses, the prophet of all generations, who would make known the statutes and the laws".⁶

Before Adam's repentance after his fall, Cain and Abel were born, but neither possessed Adam's image or the "ray" of his light. Adam was even afraid for them and left from his wife for a hundred years.⁷ In one Samaritan text known to us, Cain and Abel are

¹ See *The Samaritan Version—Molad Mosheb. Text, Translation and Notes*, ed. Selig J. Miller, *The Samaritan Molad Mosheb*, New York 1949, p. 6. According to *Malef*, see J. Bowman, *The Doctrine of Creation, Fall of Man and the Original Sin in Samaritan and Pauline Theology*, in: *The Reformed Theol. Review* XIX 1960, p. 65-72, p. 65, Adam was created by the angel of the Lord and God breathed the breath of life into him.

² *Molad Mosheb* p. 6.

³ *Molad Mosheb* p. 6.

⁴ *Molad Mosheb* p. 7.

⁵ *Molad Mosheb* p. 7.

⁶ *Molad Mosheb* p. 7.

⁷ *Molad Mosheb* p. 7. For Adam's repentance, see also *Vita Adae et Evae*. Adam's separation from Eve for a hundred years is interesting, but, according

called "sons of Belial".⁸ In another, we read that twins were also born to Adam. Cain's twin sister Alcalah was given to Abel as his wife and Makada, Abel's twin sister, to Cain. Cain was given the West and Abel the North and the South.⁹ Cain's children were "children of darkness".¹⁰

Unlike Cain's children the children of Seth were children of light. Seth was born "in the image, in the likeness and in the correct form". It is from him that the ancestors of "our Master Moses" descended.¹¹

This points clearly to the importance of Seth's generation. It is called a chain of purity (שלשלה טהורה).¹² In this chain, certain objects and phenomena were handed down from one generation to the other. This first of all applies to the light which was given to Adam.¹³ But other objects were also transmitted along the chain. We read about Adam's altar "in the precincts of the holy place between Luzah and Mount Gerizim", which was rebuilt by Enosh and later raised up by Abraham again.¹⁴ Adam possessed books—the Book of Wars, the Book of Astrology and the Book of Signs—and these two were handed down from one generation to another.¹⁵

to the Samaritan text *The Asatir*, see I 24 and 26, ed. M. Gaster, London 1927, Abel was killed when Adam was thirty years old which means that Seth was born when he was 130, at least according to the Masoretic text.

⁸ This is taken from *Malef*, a text which has not yet appeared in print but is quoted by J. Bowman, *Samaritanische Probleme*, Stuttgart 1967, p. 51, and also referred to in his *The Doctrine of Creation*. . . p. 66-67.

⁹ *Asatir* I 2-3.

¹⁰ According to *Malef*, quoted by Bowman, *Samaritanische Probleme*, p. 51.

¹¹ *Molad Mosheh* p. 7.

¹² See J. MacDonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans*, London 1964, p. 314-320. MacDonald quotes from A. E. Cowley, *The Samaritan Liturgy*, Oxford 1909, in two volumes.

¹³ *Maulid an Nashi*. *The Arabic Version. Text, Translations and Notes*, ed. Selig J. Miller, New York 1949, p. 16, 11: "So this momentous (light) was transmitted from prophet to prophet until (it came) to the Messenger".

¹⁴ See *Asatir* I 7, II 14 and VI 27.

¹⁵ See Ad. Neubauer, *Chronique Samaritaine*, in: *Journ. Asiatique*, Six. Série T. XIV 1869, p. 385-470, p. 423: "Il est de tradition que Dieu a transmis à nos ancêtres, depuis Adam jusqu'à Moïse, trois livres, savoir: le Livre des Guerres, celui de l'Astronomie et celui des Signes. Adam et ses fils, la génération pure, savaient quel est celui qui a créé les deux luminaires pour servir à fixer les saisons, les jours et les années; rien ne reste caché non plus à Noé." The book of Wars is also mentioned in the *Asatir* I 21 and IV 15. In the last passage it is said that Noah gave the Book of Signs to Arpachshad, the Book of Astronomy to Elam and the Book of Wars to Ashur. The Book of Signs is mentioned in II 7, where we read that it was learned by Enoch and given to Adam (also II 12 and 35).

Among the descendants of Adam, knowledge existed about the coming flood, since it was foretold by him.¹⁶ Finally we read about a rod that was once in the possession of Adam, but later in the hands of Moses.¹⁷

According to Samaritan texts then, Seth was simply one link in a chain from Adam to Moses, but this does not mean that nothing of special importance is said about him.

Seth is called "the innocent one" ¹⁸ and the first "to declare the unity of God" because he began to call upon the name of God.¹⁹ From this it is clear that the words of Gen. 4, 26 were supposed to be spoken by Seth and not by Enosh. He also was the first to call men to obedience to God and it is said of him that the Taheb will come from his loins.¹¹ This Taheb is called "the crown of the sons of Seth".²⁰

This shows that Seth plays a very important part in the chain from Adam to Moses and the coming Taheb. To this a few further comments about Seth can be added.

We read, for example, that Seth built the city of Damascus.²² It is, however, not known exactly how important this statement is. It may be of minor importance in the light of the wider context in which it is set, that of other cities built by the generations that existed before the flood. A possible conclusion would therefore be that this passage relates the origin of a number of famous and very old cities.

We do, however, know that many of the Samaritans once lived in the city of Damascus.²³ If this fact influenced the author of the passage about Seth having built the city, we may say that what is said here is that Samaritans were living in a city once built by Seth. It is with the help of this passage and another in the Dead Sea Scrolls that attempts have been made to show that the Samaritans'

¹⁶ *Asatir* II 27.

¹⁷ See *Asatir* IX 32: "The rod of Adam and his clothes were given to Moses that day". See also MacDonald, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

¹⁸ See *Moled Mosheh* p. 8.

¹⁹ See *Maulid an Nashi'* p. 17, 18-18, 1.

²⁰ See *Maulid an Nashi'* p. 18, 3.

²¹ See *Maulid an Nashi'* p. 18, 4.

²² *Asatir* II 3. In E. N. Adler and M. Séligsohn, *Une nouvelle Chronique Samaritaine*, in: *Rev. des Études Juives* 44 1902, p. 188 222, p. 192, we read: "Seth construisit deux villes, dont il nomma l'une Philippe (Caesarea), et l'autre Damas".

²³ See MacDonald, *op. cit.*, p. 27-28 (and also General Index, s.v. *Damascus*).

claim to be the generation of Seth or the real Sethites was justified.²⁴ But even if this argument is called into question, the ideas about Seth and the chain from Seth to Moses still have an important bearing on the our subject. There can be no doubt that Seth was at the beginning of this chain, along which the divine light that was once in possession of Adam, was transmitted. This chain became more and more a generation of mysterious persons, beginning with Seth and existing until the present day.²⁵ This means that it is among the Samaritans that we meet the idea of an uninterrupted generation of Sethites possessing not only knowledge from ancient times but also the divine light.

²⁴ In an article *Samaritanertum und Gnosis*, in: *Gnosis und Neues Testament*, published by K.-W. Tröger, Gütersloh 1973, p. 89-95, K. W. Beltz discusses the passage in the *Zadokite Document* VII 18b-21, where it is said—quoting Num. 24, 17—that the “star” was the Teacher of the Law who went to Damascus and that the sceptre, that was the Prince of the Community, was coming to destroy the sons of Seth. Beltz observes here that the Teacher of the Law was coming to punish the people of the Northern Kingdom, that is the Samaritans, who are called sons of Seth. If, then we accept that two different persons are mentioned in this passage we arrive at a different explanation. See also A. S. van der Woude, *Die Messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumrân*, Assen 1957, p. 57-61.

²⁵ MacDonald, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

CHAPTER THREE

THE NAME OF SETH AND FACTS FROM HIS LIFE IN JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

a. *The Name of Seth*

In Jewish and Christian literature, names are frequently given etymological or quasi-etymological explanations. At other times, a name is explained by the character or reputation of the person bearing the name. These two types of explanation often had an influence on each other.

The author of the Masoretic text of Gen. 4, 25 tried to provide an explanation of the name "Seth" saying that the name שֵׁט was given to Adam's son כִּי שָׁתָה לִי אֱלֹהִים נֹרַע אָחָר. According to this explanation, it was derived from שֵׁט meaning "to erect" or "to put down", so that, with the birth of Seth, God "laid down" another seed. We are, however, not entitled to assume that any particular significance was therefore attached to the name of Seth. All that we can say is that this was a mere play on the word שֵׁט and that the passage can be expressed in English in the following way: "... and he gave him the name *Seth*, since, he said, God *set* into my house (lit. "set to me") another son".

We may conclude that translators preferred an easier word to say that Adam was given a son. In the Targums—apart from Neofiti I which chose שֵׁי—we find the word יֵהב instead of שֵׁט. This destroys the play on words, but not the meaning of the sentence. The same translation is found in the Syriac version where ܝܗܒ was chosen. The Greek translation by Aquila, who was obviously trying to give an exact rendering, has ἑστηκε.

In the later synagogal literature, it is clear that some importance was attached to the view that the name was derived from the verb שֵׁט. It was assumed that the name was chosen because it was on Seth that "was founded the world".¹ In Christian literature too, we read that Seth's name has to be understood as meaning "foundation".² This shows that Seth was thought to have been at the

¹ *Numbers Rabbah* II, XIV 12, p. 618. See also Ginzberg, *Legends* V, p. 149.

origin of mankind since the generation of Cain was extirpated during the flood.

According to another, rather late Jewish explanation, the name was derived from the two words שֶׁת־לִי which were thought to be derived from שָׁתִיל, "plant", "offshoot" or "branch".³ In the first translation, all that is said is that a new beginning was "planted" with Seth. It is possible that the second explanation has something to do with the idea that Seth possessed a branch or rod which was taken from paradise by Adam. In the Syriac Book of the Bee, this branch is said to be a branch of the tree of knowledge.⁴ The idea of a branch taken from the trees in paradise and given to Seth is found especially in Armenian texts.⁵

According to Philo, the name Seth was derived from the verb שָׁתַּה, which resulted in the translation ποτισμός.⁶ Seth was, according to Philo, a name which meant both he "who gives to drink" and the one "who is given to drink". A deeper meaning is given to this explanation, since Seth was thought to drink from "the streaming fluid of wisdom", which had the effect of fertilising.⁷

In addition to these explanations originating among Jewish authors, we must also consider a number of originally Christian explanations. It is not surprising that the words ἐξάνέστησε μοι in Gen. 4, 25 (LXX) attracted the attention of Christian authors.

³ See A. Levene, *The early Syriac Fathers on Genesis*, London 1951, p. 80: "The name 'Seth' means 'foundation'". The same is said in Išo'dad of Merv, *Comment. in Gen.*, ed. C. van den Eynde, in: *Corp. Script. Christ. Orient.* 156, Louvain 1958, p. 114.

⁴ See Ginzberg. *op. cit.*, p. 148, referring to *Agg. Bereshit* 37.

⁵ *The Book of the Bee* ch. XVII and XXX, ed. E. A. Budge, in: *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Sem. Series* vol. I, Part II, Oxford 1886, p. 24 and 50, although this branch is not especially connected with Seth. Cf. also the Samaritan literature quoted on p. 31.

⁶ See *Erzählung von der Busse des Adam und Eva*, ed. E. Preuschen, *Die Apokryphen Gnostischen Adamschriften*, Giessen 1900, p. 41, 28-31: "Und er (that is, the angel) gab Adam einen Zweig von den Bäumen des Gartens und sprach: 'Dies soll dir ein Zeichen sein, dass Eva einen Sohn gebären wird und du sollst seinen Namen Seth nennen, einen Ersatz für Abel, den Kain getötet hat'", and *Worte des Adam zu Seth*, ed. Preuschen, *op. cit.*, p. 46, 26-29: "Und zur Stunde sah er einen Engel, der kam und hielt einen Zweig der Freude in seiner Hand. Und er gab ihn Seth und sprach: 'Das ist der Trost für deinen Vater'".

⁷ Philo, *De Post. Caini* 10, 124 and 125, cf. his *Questions* I 78, p. 49: "But 'Seth' is interpreted as 'one who drinks water'".

⁸ Philo, *De Post. Caini* 125.

Many of these read into these words the idea "resurrection" and this was naturally linked with the resurrection of Christ.⁸

In the various *Onomastica*, a collection is made of these names given to Seth: *positio*, *positus*, *poculum*, *gramen*, *semen* and *resurrectio*.⁹ Here again, then, we find the names "foundation", "cup", "plant", "seed" and "resurrection".

There are also several Christian explanations of the name Seth which were derived not from its supposed etymology, but from Seth's character or special position among Adam's offspring. In the *Glossae Colbertinae*, for example, we read about him ἐπιλησιμονὴ κακῶν ἢ θέμενος.¹⁰ These words obviously point to the fact that the evil brought about by Cain can be forgotten in the birth of Seth. In the Ethiopic Book of Adam the name is rendered as "God accepted my prayer and delivered me from my distress", but the author goes on to say that the name is also rendered by the words "strong and powerful".¹¹

Finally some explanations are also found in Gnostic literature. Epiphanius writes that among the Sethites Seth was given the name ἀνταλλαγή.¹² This can only mean that Seth took Cain's place. More important is the name ἀλλογενής given to Seth by the *Archontici*. Here the idea of Seth being of "another generation", which, as we shall see later, was popular among many Gnostics, was expressed in his name.¹³

⁸ Augustin, *De Civ. Dei* XV 17, in: *Corp. Christ. Ser. Lat.* XLVIII, Turnholt 1955, p. 479: *Seth interpretatur resurrectio*; Isidore of Seville, *Quaest. in V.T.*, in *Gen.* VI, in: *MPL* 83, c. 228A: . . . *Seth quippe interpretatus "resurrectio", qui est Christus*, and in his *Etymologiarum Lib.* VII VI 9, ed. W. M. Lindsay I, Oxonii 1911, we find the same comment but with the addition *Idem et positio, quia posuit eum Deus pro Abel*, which agrees with his *Allegoria quaedam script. sacrae* 118, in: *MPL* 83, c. 101A; Rabanus Maurus, *De Universo Libri XXII*, *Lib.* II 1, in: *MPL* 111, c. 520: *resurrectio vel positio*; Adamus Scotus, *De Tripartito Tabernaculi, Pars II*, in: *MPL* 198, c. 716A: *resurrectio*, and Cedrenus, ed. I Bekker, in: *Corp. Script. Hist. Byzant.*, Bonnae 1838, p. 88: σημαίνει δὲ Σῆθ ἐξανάστασιν.

⁹ Jerome, *Lib. Interpret. Hebraic. Nom.*, ed. P. de Lagarde 10, 12-13: *Seth positio sive positus aut poculum vel gramen aut semen seu resurrectio*; 20, 17: *Seth positio sive posuit*; 65, 28-30: *Seth positus aut ponens vel posuit aut poculum sive germen vel resurrectio*; and in *Onomastica Vaticana* 177, 68: Σῆθ φύτευμα ἢ ἀνάστασις, and 198, 48: Σῆθ ἀνάστασις ὥραία.

¹⁰ ed. P. de Lagarde p. 204, 39.

¹¹ Adambuch, ed. A. Dillmann, *Das Christliche Adambuch des Morgenlandes*, in: *Jahrbücher für Biblischen Wissenschaft* 5 1852-1853, p. 75.

¹² Epiphanius, *Pan.* 39 5 7, p. 76.

¹³ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 40 7 2, p. 87.

From this, we may conclude that not much attention was given in Jewish circles to the significance of Seth's name. The derivations based upon the Hebrew letters are not unexpected and they were not primarily inspired by any special position given to Seth. In Christian circles, the relation between his name and "resurrection" was based upon the Greek translation of Gen. 4, 25. Gnostics were interested in Seth's different origin and spoke about him as another generation.

b. *Facts from the Life of Seth*

In this chapter we have assembled some ideas about the life of Seth. Some have already been mentioned, but we must now review them within the wider framework of events which according to the sources took place during his lifetime and in the light of the qualities attributed to him. We shall, in this section only discuss those facts with no direct bearing upon a later generation, but strictly related to his life.

There are a few such data in the Old Testament about Seth. He was born when Adam was 130 years old "in his likeness, after his image" (Gen. 5, 3) and in place of Abel who was killed (Gen. 4, 25). He became the father of Enosh when he was 105 years old (Gen. 4, 25 and 5, 6) and he died when he was 912 years old (Gen. 6, 8).

According to Gen. 4, 25, Adam "knew his wife again". The word **וַיֵּד** in this text was read as "more" like in *Genesis Rabbah* XXIII 5.¹⁴ The idea that Cain and Abel were children of the devil may be behind this rendering. We have already pointed out that the same idea is found in Josephus. This reading was known in Christian authors from Josephus although it was not apparently a widely held view.¹⁵

According to the Masoretic Text, Adam was 130 years old when Seth was born. This is in accordance with all the known Aramaic Jewish sources. The Septuagint, however, is different and speaks of 230 years. Jubilees and the *Vita Adae et Evae* follow the Hebrew Text, but the figure 230 also appears in Josephus. The Christian

¹⁴ ed. Freedman p. 195.

¹⁵ See Josephus, *Antiquit.* I 67, and Petrus Comestor, *Hist. Schol. Lib. Gen. c. XXIX*, in: *MPL* 198, c. 1080A: *Tamen Josephus dicit, quia Abel extincto et Cain effugato, Adam de procreatione filiorum cogitabat, et vehementer eum generationis, amor angebat; hanc cogitationem propagationis potuit vocare Strabus praeceptum Domini, quis jusserrat: Crescite et multiplicamini. . .*

authors generally used the Greek text of the Old Testament and therefore keep to 230, although some were aware that this differed from the Hebrew original.¹⁶

The figure 130 appears in the Syriac translation. Later Syriac writings speak of Adam's mourning for one hundred years after the death of Abel before he knew Eve.¹⁷ This may be the result of combining two traditions concerning the time of Seth's birth, but we cannot be certain of this. Adam's continence can also be found in the Samaritan writings without any difference in the number of years, because the date of Abel's death was assumed to be the year 30.¹⁸

The various texts contain a range of ideas concerning Seth's brothers and sisters. A common theme is that several children were born successively. This is a tradition which goes back to the Book of Jubilees, according to which Adam and Eve's children were in turn Cain, Abel, Āwân, Seth and Azûra. This idea was taken over by many of the Greek writers. Referring to Jubilees, Epiphanius for instance, wrote about two sisters called Ἀσουάμ and Ἀζουρά.¹⁹ The same sisters are found in Malalas, who influenced the Byzantine chronographers of a later date.²⁰

In Jubilees too, we read that Cain took Asouam as his wife and Seth Azoura.²¹ Although Malalas stated that Cain married Azoura and Seth Asouam, an idea which was again generally taken over by the Byzantine chronographers,²² Syncellus corrected this to agree

¹⁶ Petrus Comestor, *op. cit.* c. XXV, c. 1076C. See also Procopius of Gaza, *Comment. in Gen. V* 3, in: MPG 87, I, c. 264B: Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ὁ Ἑβραῖος παρὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη γενεολογεῖ· οἷον Ἀδὰμ γέγραπται σλ' (230) ἐτῶν γεννῶν τὸν Σῆθ· ὁ δὲ Ἑβραῖος ρλ' (130) φησὶν, and Eusebius of Emesa, ed. R. Devreesse, *Les Anciens Commentateurs Grecs de l'Octateuque et les Rois (Fragments tirés des Chaines)*, in: *Studi e Testi* 201, Città del Vaticano 1959, p. 62: Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ὁ Ἑβραῖος καὶ ὁ Σύρος καὶ ὁ Σύμμαχος, παρὰ ἑκατὸν ἔτη αἰ γενεολογεῖ· καὶ ὑποδείγματος ἕνεκεν γέγραπται σλ' ἐτῶν γεννῶν τὸν Σῆθ, ὁ Ἑβραῖος ρλ'.

¹⁷ *Cave of Treasures*, ed. C. Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle. I Die Übersetzung*, Leipzig 1883, p. 8; *Book of the Bee* ch. XVIII, p. 22; Michael Syrus I I, ed. J.-B. Chabot t. I, Paris 1899, p. 3. who knows the reading "230" in the I.XX; *Book of Adam* p. 74 speaks about an abstinence of 210 years.

¹⁸ See p. 29-30.

¹⁹ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 39 6 4, p. 76. For the spelling of the names of the two sisters, see H. Rönisch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, Leipzig 1874, p. 373.

²⁰ Malalas, ed. L. Dindorf, in: *Corp. Script. Hist. Byzant.*, Bonnae 1831, p. 1.

²¹ *Jubilees* 4, 8.

²² Malalas p. 1.

with Jubilees, saying that Cain became the husband of Asouam and Azoura the wife of Seth.²³

As we have already said, the birth of twins is recorded in the Hebrew and Aramaic Jewish literature but nothing is said about the names of Adam's daughters. The only exception is a late tradition in the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, where three sons and three daughters are mentioned by name: "Cain and his twin wife Qalmana, Abel and his twin wife Deborah, and Seth and his twin wife Nōba".²⁴

The birth of twins is also recorded in the Syriac writings. According to the Cave of Treasures, Cain was born with his sister Lebuda (ܠܒܘܕܐ) and Abel with his sister Kelimath (ܟܠܡܬܐ).²⁵ The same idea occurs in the Book of the Bee.²⁶ This tradition is also known to the author of the Book of Adam, which refers to the simultaneous birth of Cain and Luva (i.e. Lebuda) on the one hand and Abel and Aklejam (i.e. Kelimath) on the other.²⁷

Eutychius tried to combine the two traditions by saying that Cain was born with Azrun and Abel with Owain. These names are recognizably those of the Book of Jubilees, but the theme of simultaneous births was taken from the tradition found in the Cave of Treasures. According to Eutychius Owain was called Laphura in Greek, which shows that this author was familiar with a tradition, according to which one of the sisters was called Lebuda.²⁸

The tradition found in the Cave of Treasures and similar works does not tell us very much about Seth's marriage. The subject was not discussed because Seth was of outstanding purity. According to the Cave of Treasures, Adam asked Cain to marry Kelimath and Abel Lebuda, but Cain wished to marry his twin sister Lebuda, which was one of the reasons for killing his brother.²⁹ In this pas-

²³ Syncellus, ed. G. Dindorf, in: *Corp. Script. Hist. Byzant.*, Bonnae 1829, p. 15 and 17.

²⁴ *Chron. of Jerahmeel* XXVII, p. 54.

²⁵ *Cave of Treasures* p. 8.

²⁶ *Book of the Bee* ch. XVIII, p. 25.

²⁷ *Book of Adam* p. 67 and 68, see also ed. Dillmann p. 139, n. 52. See also the Arabic text *Kitāb al-Magāll*, in: *Apocrypha Arabica*, in: *Studia Sinaitica* VIII, ed. M. Dunlop Gibson, London 1901, p. 11. Here Cain is born with Lusia and Abel with Aclima.

²⁸ Eutychius, in: *MPG* LII, c. 910C.

²⁹ *Cave of Treasures* p. 8, also *Kitāb al-Magāll* p. 11 and *Testament of Adam* fr. II 3, ed. M. Kmosko, in: *Patrol. Syriaca* I II, Parisiis 1907, c. 1343-1344.

sage, nothing is said about Seth's marriage. Only much later in this text, in a separate genealogy, do we read that Seth married Keli-math, Abel's twin sister.³⁰ In the Book of Adam, we read that Seth married Lea,³¹ Abel's sister. The name Lea is met with here for the first time, but it can be identified with Luva, who is previously mentioned in this writing as Cain's twin sister. Eutychius writes that Seth married Owain, who was, as we have already said, Abel's twin sister.³²

The Jewish literature tells us that Adam was "comforted" by Seth's birth. In the *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan*, this is expressed in the following way: "Rabbi Eliezer said: Adam had a son who died, yet he allowed himself to be comforted concerning him. And how do we know that he allowed himself to be comforted concerning him? For it is said, And Adam knew his wife again (Gen. 4, 25). Thou, too, be thou comforted".³³ This idea was popular among Syriac and Armenian authors.³⁴

Little is said about Seth's being "in Adam's likeness",³⁵ but a connection is sometimes made between this fact and Seth's being in the likeness of Christ.³⁶

Both Syncellus and Cedrenus state that Seth was weaned at his twelfth year³⁷ and, according to the Book of Adam, he already

³⁰ *Cave of Treasures* p. 54.

³¹ *Book of Adam* p. 80.

³² Eutychius c. 911B

³³ ed. Goldin ch. 14, p. 76.

³⁴ *Book of the Bee* ch. XVII, p. 27; *Book of Adam* p. 75; *Der Tod Adams*, ed. Preuschen p. 25, 1-2; *Über das Evangelium von Seth*, ed. Preuschen p. 36, 32-37, 1; *Worte des Adam zu Seth*, ed. Preuschen p. 46, 22; *Livre de l'Enfance*, in: P. Peeters, *Les Évangiles Apocryphes, II L'Évangile de L'Enfance*, in: *Textes et Documents*, Paris 1914, p. 69-386, p. 148.

³⁵ Cf. Paulus Nolanus, *Epistola* XII 2, in: *MPL* 61, c. 200A: *Nam justum Abelem illico reparavit sancta generatio in Seth, qui ore comimili formatum ad imaginem Dei retulit patrem*, and Anastasius Sinaita, *In Hexaemeron Lib. VII*, in: *MPG* 89, c. 939C.

³⁶ Ephrem, *Comm. in Genesim et Exodum* V 1, in: *Corp. Script. Christ. Orient.* 153, Louvain 1965, p. 43: *In Seth autem, qui omnino similis fuit Adae, similitudo filii figurata est qui signatus est a Patre suo genitore, sicut Seth a Adam qui progeniuit eum*, and Ephrem, *Hymni contra Haereses* 5, 12, ed. E. Beck, in: *Corp. Script. Christ. Orient.* 170, Louvain 1957, p. 22: "Seth war für seinen Erzeuger wie ein Spiegel, Adam sah sich selber ausgeprägt in seinem Gezeugten. Und auch Seth sah sein (eignes) Bild im Bilde seines Erzeugers. Wer sah (jemals) einen Erzeugten und den, der ihn erzeugt, den einen im andern abgeprägt, den einen in den andern gekleidet! Sie werden gehüllt in die Symbole unseres Herrn und seines Erzeugers", and Išo'dad of Merw, *Comment. in Gen.*, p. 50 and 144.

³⁷ Syncellus p. 16 and Cedrenus p. 16.

knew the difference between good and evil in his seventh year.³⁸ This may be due to the influence of Josephus, who wrote that Seth came to an age to judge good things.³⁹

The influence of Josephus is particularly clear in passages dealing with Seth's virtues. John Cassian said that Seth showed *iustitia* and *pietas* and this made him equal with to Abel.⁴⁰ In the Syriac writings such as the Cave of Treasures, the Book of the Bee and the Book of Adam, Seth is described as being beautiful. The Cave of Treasures adds that he was also mighty and perfect like his father Adam.⁴¹ This agrees with a passage in Eutychius.⁴² According to Cedrenus and Syncellus, Seth was εὐειδής, εὐδιάπλαστος and εὐσεβής.⁴³

What is striking is that Cedrenus writes that Seth "was called God" because he was beautiful.⁴⁴ Malalas also says that the people called Seth "God", because he invented the Hebrew letters and possessed a knowledge of astrology and because of his piety.⁴⁵ The words ὥστε καὶ πρῶτον ἐπικαλεῖσθαι θεὸν καὶ ὀνομάζεσθαι in Gen. 4, 26 also led to the conclusion that Seth should be called God. The words were thought to have been spoken by Seth and not, as was originally meant, by Enosh and the verbs were assumed to be in the passive.⁴⁶ Usually, however, the words were taken to have been

³⁸ *Book of Adam* p. 77.

³⁹ Josephus, *Antiquit.* I 68: τραφεὶς γὰρ οὗτος (scil. Seth) καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς ἡλικίαν ᾗδῃ [τὰ] καλὰ κρίνειν δυναμένην [ἀρετὴν ἐπετήδευσε, om. RO] καὶ γενόμενος αὐτὸς ἄριστος μιμητὰς τῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀπτόγονους κατέλειπεν.

⁴⁰ John Cassian, *Conlationes* XXI, ed. M. Petschenig, in: *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.* XIII II, Vindobonae 1886, p. 237.

⁴¹ *Cave of Treasures*, p. 8, *Book of the Bee* p. 27, *Book of Adam* p. 77, cf. *Kitāb al-Magall* p. 12: "the handsome man, the complete and perfect giant. . . making him the father of other giants of the earth", and *A Coptic Jeremiah Apocryphon* 34, ed. K. H. Kuhn, in: *Le Muséon* LXXXIII 1970, p. 95-135 and 291-350, p. 314: "...who adorned Seth with beauty. . ."

⁴² Eutychius c. 911A.

⁴³ Cedrenus p. 17 and Syncellus p. 17.

⁴⁴ Cedrenus p. 16: ὀνομάσθη δὲ καὶ θεὸς διὰ τὴν λάμψιν τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἔσχεν ἐν ὅλῃ αὐτοῦ τῇ ζωῇ. Michael Glycas, *Annales*, ed. I. Bekker, in: *Corp. Script. Hist. Byzant.*, Bonnæ 1836, p. 228 and 233, writes that Seth was called God and in *Cave of Treasures* p. 10 Seth is called God because of his purity.

⁴⁵ Malalas, p. 7, also in Michael Glycas p. 288, Suidas, *Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, in: *Lexicographi Graeci* I, Pars IV, Lipsiae 1935, p. 348, and Georgios Hamartalos, *Chronicon* I 1, MPG 110, c. 85C.

⁴⁶ See Malalas p. 7 and Suidas p. 348, but Malalas p. 6 also follows the LXX text: Σὴθ δὲ ὢν ἐτῶν σε' ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἐνὼς ἑτερον δὲ ἡλιπσιεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν κυριον.

Enosh's. For this reason, it is necessary to re-examine the passage again in the section about the generation of Seth. The Syriac commentators also discuss Gen. 4, 26, but they usually take these words as a proof of Seth's separation from Cain.⁴⁷

Both in the Byzantine chronographers and the tradition of the Cave of Treasures, we read that Seth was the leader of his generation.⁴⁸ This is connected with the theme that the two generations of Cain and Seth lived separately before the Flood. We shall have occasion to speak again of this later.

Agreeing with the Masoretic Text and Jubilees 5, 6, Georgios Hamatolos insisted that Seth was 105 years old when Enosh was born.⁴⁹ This is an exception since Julius Africanus believed that this happened when he was 205 years old, thus agreeing with the Septuagint and Josephus. The second view was accepted by most of the Byzantine chronographers.⁵⁰ Finally, according to the Book of Adam, Seth was twenty years old when he begot Enosh, but this too is an exception.⁵¹

We must now turn to the question of Adam's burial. In considering this theme, we must discuss a number of writings—generally of Syriac origin—which were primarily influenced by the *Vita Adae et Evae* and the Apocalypse of Moses.

In the *Vitae Adae et Evae*, Seth is frequently mentioned in connection with Adam's death and burial. Before Adam's death, Seth and his brother were assembled in Adam's house of prayer (XXX 1-2). Eve and Seth come back from a journey to the neighbourhood of paradise with "herbs of fragrance, i.e. nard crocus, calamus and cinnamon" (XLIII 3). This can be compared with the passage in the Apocalypse of Moses, according to which Adam was allowed to take "incense and sweet odour" and "sweet spices and fragrant

⁴⁷ See A. Levene, *The Early Syrian Fathers*, . . . , p. 80, who after quoting Gen. 4, 26 reads: "i.e. he (scil. Seth) dedicated himself to God that he might be called his servant, but he had no relations with Cain". Also in Ephrem, in Gen. V 1, p. 43, and Theodor bar-Kōnī, *Liber Scholiorum* I, ed. A. Scher, in: *Corp. Script. Christ. Orient.* 55, Parisiis 1905, p. 98.

⁴⁸ See Syncellus p. 19; Cedrenus p. 18; *Cave of Treasures* p. 9 and 10; and *Über das Evangelium vom Seth*, ed. Preuschen p. 37, 1-2: "Er wird ein gesegneter Nachkommen und ein Haupt der Völker".

⁴⁹ Georgios Hamartalos c. 85C. Bar Hebraeus, *Historia Compendiosa Dynastiarum*, ed. E. Pocock, Oxoniae 1663, p. 5, states that the Hebrew Text speaks about 105 years.

⁵⁰ Julius Africanus quoted in Syncellus p. 15 Malalas p. 6, Syncellus, p. 2, 152 and Eutychius c. 911C.

⁵¹ *Book of Adam* p. 73.

herbs from paradise and seed for his (scil. Adam's) food", which consisted of "crocus, nard calamus, cinnamon and other seeds for his food" (XXIX 4-7) with him from paradise.

There is no agreement about the place of burial in the *Vitae Adae et Evae* and the Apocalypse of Moses. According to the first text Adam was buried in the parts of paradise. This was done by angels and was seen by Seth and his mother (XLVIII 6). In the Apocalypse of Moses, on the other hand, Adam's body was buried "in the spot where God found the dust" (XL 6). "Oil of fragrance" was poured over Adam's body (XL 2) and fragrant spices which were brought by the angels from paradise and these were placed in the spot which "they had digged and builded" (XL 7).

In the synagogal literature, the spot where Adam was created is mentioned in several texts. In Ps. Joh. Gen. 2, 7, we read, for example, that the dust was taken from the place of the temple. Adam was then set in paradise after he left "the mountain of worship" (2, 15). Finally he returned to "Mount Moriah" which has to be identified with the place where he was created, since we read that he had "to till the ground from whence he was created" (3, 23).⁵²

Mount Moriah, which is mentioned in Gen. 22, 2 as the place where Abraham was to sacrifice his son, is identified with the site of the temple of Jerusalem (see II Chron. 3, 1). In Ps. Jon. Gen. 22, 2, we read that Abraham had to go "into the land of worship".⁵³

The next step is the introduction of the theme that Adam himself had a house of prayer and acted as a priest. We have already encountered this theme in the *Vitae Adae et Evae*, according to which Adam assembled his children in the house of prayer (XXX 2).⁵⁴ According to Jewish traditions, this house of prayer

⁵² According to *Genesis Rabbah* XIV 8, p. 115, Adam was created in "the place of the temple" and that after his expulsion he went to Mount Moriah, XX p. 143, cf. *T. J. Nazir* VII, 2, 52b. See W. Staerk, *Die Erlösererwartung in den östlichen Religionen (Soter II)*, Stuttgart and Berlin 1928, p. 10.

⁵³ See also Josephus, *Antiquit.* I 225, and *Genesis Rabbah* LV 7, p. 487-488, where it is said that, according to R. Simeon b. Yohai, Abraham went "To the place that correspondends to the heavenly Temple". In this context, we also read that, according to the rabbis, Abraham went "To the place where incence would be offered, as you read, I will get me to the mountain of myrrh—Mor". This refers to Songs of Song 4, 6.

⁵⁴ According to the Latin version of this work, see J. H. Mozley, *The "Vita Adae"*, in: *Journ. of Theol. Stud.* 30 1929, p. 121-149, p. 144 (Ms. B: fifteenth century) Solomon discovered the *tabulas quas Seth scripsit* and Michael instructed him to build a temple on the place where they had been

contained an altar which was rebuilt by Noah after the flood and again by Abraham when he was to sacrifice his son.⁵⁵

It is remarkable that there is no word in the synagogal literature about Adam's burial in the place where he was created. The general opinion was that Adam was buried in the Cave of Machpelah, where not only Adam and Eve but also Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and their wives were thought to be buried.⁵⁶

It is possible that this is a later tradition than that concerning Adam's burial in the place where he was created. The place may have been changed in order to avoid the suggestion that the temple was built on the site of Adam's tomb.⁵⁷

The later Jewish writings express a different view. In the *Pirḳê de*

found *ubi erat oratorium in quo Adam adorabat Dominum*. According to *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan* ch. 1, p. 16, God created Adam and the temple with both of his hands and "brought them to his holy border, the mountain. . ." Adam's priesthood is described by *b. Ab. Zava* 8a, ed. Goldschmidt IX, p. 457, where we read that he offered "oxen". In *Asatir* I 9, Adam is also called a "priest". In the *Cave of Treasures* p. 8, he is called "the first priest".

⁵⁵ *Ps. Jon. Gen.* 22, 9 describes the rebuilding of Adam's altar by Noah. In *Asatir* II 14, Enoch rebuilt Adam's altar. According to *Genesis Rabbah* XXXIV, 9, p. 272, referring to Gen. 8, 20, R. Eliezer b. Jacob said "This (scil. Gen. 8, 20) means 'on the great altar of Jerusalem' where Adam first sacrificed". *Pirḳê de Rabbi Eliezer* XXIII, p. 171, tells us that Noah rebuilt the altar which was used by Cain and Abel. Although Melchizedek was believed to be priest see *Ps. Jonathan Gen.* 14, 18, in Salem (Gen. 14, 18), which was identified with Jerusalem, see Josephus, *Antiquit.* I 180, S. Rapaport, *Aggadah und Exegese bei Flavius Josephus*, Wien 1930, p. 196, is justified in saying: "The figure of Melchizedek caused considerable uncertainty among the Jews for two doctrinal reasons: in the first place, Melchizedek was taken up and used as a strong argument in Christian apologetics against the Jews; in the second place Melchizedek gave rise to considerable unorthodox speculations as a result of the enigmatic account of Gen. XIV". In the Samaritan *Memar Marquah* II 10, ed. J. MacDonald, in: *Beih Zeitschr. für die alttestamentl. Wissensch.* 84, Berlin 1963, p. 73-78, it was on Mount Gerizim that Adam was created. Noah built his altar on a spot which was identified with Mount Moriah and Machpelah. See J. MacDonald, *The Theology . . .*, p. 327-333, and H. G. Kippenberg, *Garizim und Synagoge*, in: *Religionsgesch. Versuche u. Vorarb.* XXX, Berlin-New York 1971, p. 205-210 and 257-260.

⁵⁶ See *b. Baba Bathra* 58a, ed. Goldschmidt VIII, p. 168; *b. Erub.* 53a, ed.: Goldschmidt II, p. 157 and *Pirḳê de Rabbi Eliezer* XX, p. 148-149. According to *Asatir* III 2, Adam's children come to him in Badan, after which he commanded them to carry him to the valley of Hebron, "And this was called 'Machpelah'" (III 3 and 7).

⁵⁷ According to J. Jeremias, *Golgotha*, in: *ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ* 1, Leipzig 126, p. 38, n. 7, the passage in *Baba Bathra* is the oldest testimony of Adam having been buried in the Cave of Machpelah. Jeremias assumed that the place of burial was originally the altar of Jerusalem.

Rabbi Eliezer, we read that Adam built a mausoleum "beyond Mount Moriah" for himself. This would seem to indicate a place in the neighbourhood of the temple. However, a few lines further on, it is stated that "therefore it is called Cave of Machpelah", which points back to the generally accepted tradition.⁵⁸ In another passage in the same text, however, the idea that Adam was buried in Jerusalem recurs. Abraham is said to have "spoken to the sons of Jebus, in order to purchase from them the Cave . . ." The story continues: "Were they Jebusites? Were they not Hittites? But they were called Jebusites according to the name of the city of Jebus".⁵⁹ Since the city of Jebus had to be identified with Jerusalem, according to I Chron. 6, 4, we may accept that the Cave of Machpelah was thought to be situated in the region of Jerusalem, according to this passage.⁶⁰

The idea that Adam was buried in the Cave of Machpelah was not wholly unknown to Christian authors but it was generally accepted that Adam's tomb was situated in Golgotha.⁶¹

Another late tradition can be found in Zohar, namely that Adam was buried in a cave "near the Garden".⁶² This agrees with the *Vitae Adae et Evae* but we do not exclude the possibility of a

⁵⁸ *Pirḥē de Rabbi Eliezer* XX, p. 148-149.

⁵⁹ *Pirḥē de Rabbi Eliezer* XXXVI, p. 275-276.

⁶⁰ According to *Pirḥē de Rabbi Eliezer* XX, p. 143 "the garden of Eden is high unto Mount Moriah"; cf. also *Jubilees* 8, 19: "... the garden of Eden . . . Mount Sinai . . . and Mount Zion . . . these three were created as holy places facing each other".

⁶¹ An interesting passage is Jerome, *De Situ et Nom. Loc. Hebraic. Liber*, ed. P. de Lagarde p. 84, 9-13: *Arboch, corrupte in nostris codicibus Arboch scribitur cum in hebraeis legatur Arbe, id est quattuor, eo quod ibi tres patriarchae, Abraham, Isaac et Iacob, septulti sunt, et Adam magnus, ut in Iesu libro scriptum est; licet quidem eum conditum in loco Calvariae suspicentur*. Among the many passages in which Golgotha is called a burial place, see especially Athanasius, *de pass. et cruce dom.*, in: MPG 28, c. 208A; Cedrenus p. 18; Michael Glycas p. 127. See also *Cave of Treasures* p. 28-29, where we read that Mount Jebus is the mountain of the Amoraeans and the place where the cross of Christ was set up. It was the place where the tree which held the ram that saved Isaac was situated, the centre of the earth, Adam's grave and the altar of Melchizedek, cf. *Kitāb al-Magāll* p. 39. It is remarkable that the Latin text of the *Vita Adae et Evae*, ed. Mozley, p. 14, tells that Adam was created in the place where Jesus was born *scilicet in civitate Bedleem, quae est in medio mundi*. In the very early text of Pseudo-Cyprian, *Adversus Judaeos* 10, ed. D. van Damme, in: *Paradosis* XXII, Freiburg 1969, p. 11-12, we find: *Ille (scil. Adam) contemptis Patris praeceptis, expulsus est de paradiso in suam terrigenam nativitatem, in qua etiam defunctus est*.

⁶² 57b, ed. Abelson p. 184-186.

Christian influence upon this passage. In the Syriac tradition represented by the Cave of Treasures the same idea is found. Apart from this the influence of the *Vitae Adae et Evae* on traditions in the Cave of Treasures is clearly recognizable. Here too, Seth plays a part in Adam's burial and attention is paid to the idea that spices were used in connection with this burial.

According to the Cave of Treasures, Adam assembled Seth and his sons Enosh, Kenan and Mahalalel before he died and commanded them to embalm him with myrrh, cassia and balsam and to leave his body in the Cave of Treasures and that when they had to leave the country, to deposit his body in the centre of the earth.⁶³

It is clear that the Cave of Treasures was situated near paradise. This is in accordance with the *Vitae Adae et Evae*.⁶⁴ The embalming of Adam's body with spices can also be found in the Apocalypse of Moses.

Both in the *Vitae Adae et Evae* and the Apocalypse of Moses contain the theme that Adam brought spices from the neighbourhood of paradise or from paradise itself. This theme is also found in the Cave of Treasures, according to which Adam took gold, myrrh and incense with him from the outskirts of the mountains of paradise. These were placed in the cave by Adam.⁶⁵ The influence of the offerings given by the Magi in Matt. 2, 11 is evident here.

There are two different accounts of the offerings and the Magi in the Cave of Treasures. According to the first, these offerings were taken from the Cave of Treasures with the body of Adam and taken to the ark.⁶⁶ It is clear that according to this account they went to

⁶³ *Cave of Treasures* p. 9, cf. *Kitāb al-Magāll* p. 13, where Seth is commanded to bring Adam's body to the Cave of Treasures. According to *Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum I interpretatus est* J.-B. Chabot, in: *Corp. Script. Christ. Orient.* 121, Louvain 1949, p. 4, Adam was buried in the Cave of Treasures which was situated on Mount Seir, see p. 24. A similar story is also found in the obviously spurious *Fragments of Hippolytus*, in: Arabic, in: *Ante Nicene Libr.* vol. VI, Hippolytus vol. I, Edinburgh 1887.

⁶⁴ See *Cave of Treasures* p. 9-10 and 19.

⁶⁵ *Cave of Treasures* p. 8, also in *Kitāb al-Magāll* p. 11, where Adam declares "It must be all offered together to the Son of God at the time of his coming in the world".

⁶⁶ *Cave of Treasures* p. 19-20 and *Kitāb al-Magāll* p. 22-23; cf. Ps. Dionysius, *Chronicon* p. 6: *Et ingressus est Noachus et deposuit corpus patris nostri Adami in medio arcae et supra illud munera illa posuit*, and Eutychius c. 911C, according to whom Adam was buried by his children in the cave of Alcanuz and Lamech commanded Noah to bring Adam's body and the offering to the centre of the earth (c. 914D).

the west, but that would made it impossible for the Magi to find them. Later, according to an obvious correction, Methuselah told Noah to take Adam's body away and "these offerings shall be placed in the east".⁶⁷ This correspondends with another passage where we read that the Magi went up to the Mountains of Nod,⁶⁸ which are situated inside the eastern entrance from the lands on the outskirts of the North, and took from there gold, myrrh and frankincense.⁶⁹ Adam's body and the offerings went their own way, to fulfill their different destinies in the future.

It is quite clear that certain traditions became confused. According to one tradition, gold, myrrh and incense were taken by Adam from paradise, brought to the Cave of Treasures and discovered there by the Magi. This is the tradition that was known to the author of the Testament of Adam⁷⁰ and is possibly also found in the Book of the Bee.⁷¹ It is questionable whether, according to this tradition, Adam was buried in the same cave, since we read in the Testament of Adam that he was buried to the east of paradise facing the city of Enoch.⁷²

According to the tradition of the Cave of Treasures, Adam was buried in the same cave as that in which the offerings were kept. Since his body had to be removed from the cave and brought to the centre of the earth, some attempt had to be made to make clear that the offerings either remained in the east or were brought back again.⁷³

⁶⁷ *Cave of Treasures* p. 20; *Kitāb al-Magāll* p. 26.

⁶⁸ The Mountains of Nod are possibly the same as those where Cain was living, see *Cave of Treasures* p. 11 and Gen. 4, 16, and where Nimrod was living, see p. 33. See also Ps. Dionysius, *Chronicon*, p. 45: *Hi sunt reges, filii regum orientalium in terra Šir, quae est remotior totius Orientis in mundo ab hominibus habitatio, ad Oceanum, mare magnum quod est extra mundum ad Orientem terram Nūd, illius nempe quam habitabat Adamus.*

⁶⁹ *Cave of Treasures* p. 57

⁷⁰ See *Testament of Adam* fr. II 4, ed. Kmosko c. 1345-1346. The difference between the *Cave of Treasures* and this writing is one of the reasons why G. J. Reinink, *Das Problem des Ursprungs des Testamentes Adams*, in: *Orient. Christ. Anal.* 197 1974, p. 387-398, is justified in saying that we cannot speak of a direct influence from the side of the *Cave of Treasures* on the *Testament of Adam*.

⁷¹ *Book of the Bee* ch. XXXIX, p. 85: "Some say that the offerings which the Magi brought and offered to our Lord had been laid in the Cave of Treasures by Adam."

⁷² *Testament of Adam* fr. II 4, ed. Kmosko 1345-1346.

⁷³ In the *Book of Adam* p. 81 we read that Jerusalem was plundered and that gold, incense and myrrh was brought to the east. In the *Book of the*

According to Gen. 5, 8, Seth died when he was 912 years old. This datum was accepted by almost all the later writers.⁷⁴ According to the tradition represented by the *Cave of Treasures*, Seth was buried in the cave. Apart from Enoch, all those who followed Seth until the time of Methuselah were also buried in the cave. They were not, however, removed by Noah.⁷⁵

In this chapter then, we have discussed facts from the life of Seth. They had no special bearing on his generation. Most of them were initially in the pseudepigraphical literature and borrowed by Christian authors. This applies to the stories about his brothers and sisters and his marriage. This literature also helps us to explain the stories about Adam's burial. Josephus is an important source of information about Seth's virtues. It was originally Christians who called Seth "God". This, however, cannot, as we shall see later, be isolated from the influence that Gen. 6, 1 had on ideas concerning the generation of Seth.

Bee ch. XXXIX, p. 85, one MS. continues after the passage quoted in the preceeding note: "They (scil. the offerings) were laid in the ark, and afterwards in the land of Persia".

⁷⁴ But in the *Cave of Treasures* p. 11 we read about the year 913, which agrees with the *Book of the Bee* ch. XVIII, p. 28 (but one MS.: 905). With regard to Seth's children, according to *Asatir* IV 5 Noah's son Shem married Shrit the daughter of Seth.

⁷⁵ See *Cave of Treasures* p. 11 and *Book of Adam* p. 84.

CHAPTER FOUR

SETH IN CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

a. *Traditions and Knowledge going back to Seth*

In the Jewish writings, we meet the idea that Seth possessed special knowledge. According to *Vita Adae et Evae*, knowledge about God sitting on his chariot and the future world was given to him by Adam.¹ He had to write down the facts he knew about the life of Adam and Eve on tablets to prevent them from being lost later.² Seth was therefore clearly the link between Adam, who was allowed to know secrets hidden from a later generation, and the rest of mankind. Josephus also tells us that the generation of Seth possessed a knowledge of astrology. This had also to be written down for a later generation.³

I propose to discuss this subject here in order to try to discover how this tradition developed in later Christian literature. This literature also contains the theme that Seth left books containing secrets, although this theme was not entirely absent from Jewish writings.⁴

This chapter will be divided into two parts. In the first part we shall consider the subject of Seth having been an astrologer and a scribe and in the second we are dealing with the books of Seth.

1. *Seth as Scribe and Astrologer*

According to both the *Vita Adae et Evae* and Josephus, Seth wrote down the knowledge given to him for the benefit of a later generation. In spite of this, nothing is said in these writings about Seth being able to write. In Jewish literature it is not Seth but

¹ *Vita Adae et Evae* XXV 1-XXIX 10.

² *Vita Adae et Evae* XLIX 1-L 2.

³ Josephus, *Antiquit.* I 69-70. In I 106, it is said that the people before the flood lived such a long time "to promote the utility of their discoveries in astronomy and geometry". The same we find in *Genesis Rabbah* XXVI 5, p. 213. According to *Pirḥē de Rabbi Eliezer* VIII, p. 52: "Enoch walked in the ways of the calculation concerning the world which God had delivered to Adam". Enoch clearly handed on the principle of intercalation to Noah, Noah handed it on to Shem and Shem to Abraham (p. 53).

⁴ See p. 20.

Enoch who is called the "scribe".⁵ Enoch was also known for his special knowledge about the heavenly bodies. He also had to write this knowledge down for later generations⁶ until after the flood.⁷ He had been informed about the course of the stars and their names by the angel Uriel.⁸

In connection with the Book of Jubilees, we have already noticed that the author of this work had adopted traditions taken from the Apocalypse of Enoch. He expressed his ideas about Enoch in this way: "And he was the first among man that are born on earth who learnt writing and knowledge and wisdom and who wrote the signs of heaven according to the order of their months in a book".⁹ Two special skills are therefore attributed to Enoch—his knowledge of the art of writing and his astrological knowledge.

It is especially in the writings of the Byzantine chronographers that Seth is called both scribe and astrologer. The influence of Josephus, who wrote about the astrological knowledge of the Sethites, is clear here, but it was above all Enoch who originally possessed the knowledge attributed to Seth. The idea that Seth gave names to the stars is not found in Josephus, but clearly reveals the influence of Enoch.¹⁰ The same influence is evident in passages where Seth is said to possess this knowledge, because it was given to him by an angel.¹¹ The origin of this tradition can also

⁵ See I Enoch 12, 3 and 92, 1 (in some MSS.).

⁶ See I Enoch 92, 1 and 82, 1 and II Enoch 48, 6. Apart from the books of Enoch those of Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan, Mahalalel and Jared are also mentioned in II Enoch 33, 10, according to MS. A and of Enoch and Seth according to MS. B.

⁷ See II Enoch 33, 11-12 in MS. B. According to *Pistis Sophia*, ed. W. Till, *Griech. Christl. Schriftst.*, Kopt.-Gnost. Schriften I, Berlin 1954, p. 228, 35-229, 10, Enoch wrote the books of Jeu "in paradise" and he laid them down on the rock of Ararat to prevent them from being lost during the flood.

⁸ For the names of the stars written down by Enoch after they had been revealed to him by Uriel, see I Enoch 33, 3-4 and 22, 1, see also 75, 3-4 and 79, 2-6.

⁹ Jubilees 4, 17.

¹⁰ *Constantini Manassis Breviarum Historiae metricum*, ed. I. Bekker, in: *Corp. Script. Hist. Byzant.*, Bonnæ 1837, p. 19: . . . δς (scil. Seth) ἔθηκεν ὀνόματα τοῖς οὐρανίοις ἀστροῖς. *Stephani Philos. de Arte Mathematica*, in: *Cat. Cod. Astrol. Gr.* II, ed. G. Kroll and A. Olivieri, Bruxelles 1900, p. 182, 25-34, wrote that Seth handed down his astrological knowledge to the Chaldaeans, these handed this knowledge on to the Persians, they to the Greeks, until it came to the Egyptians, the Romans and the Agarenes.

¹¹ *Imper. Manuel Comneni et Michael Glycas disputatio*, in: *Cat. Cod. Astrol. Gr.* V, ed. F. Cumont and F. Boll, Bruxelles 1904, p. 118, 10-13: . . . Σὴθ . . . ὅτι πρῶτον παρ' ἀγγέλου ταῦτα (scil. astrological knowledge)

be seen as soon as the writers say that the angel Uriel taught both Seth and Enoch, since Uriel was originally especially connected with knowledge given to Enoch.¹²

The idea that Seth invented "letters", that is, the art of writing, can be explained in different ways. Since it was known that Seth wrote down his knowledge on tablets or columns his ability to write was clearly presupposed. This does not, however, fully explain why it was explicitly said that Seth invented the art of writing. We might accept the influence of the Egyptian Thoth on the tradition regarding Seth. But although Thoth was thought to have invented the knowledge of writing, his influence is not acceptable, since this would mean that it was restricted to writing only.¹³ It is preferable to accept the influence of traditions concerning Enoch only, since Seth's ability to write was generally combined with his knowledge of astrology.¹⁴ When, however, we read that Seth wrote down the names of the stars and the movements of the stars and the alphabet on pillars, we once again recognize the influence of Josephus.¹⁵

προεπαιδεύθη, ὡς λέγεται. See also *Codex Vindobonensis* I, in: *Corp. Cod. Astrol. Gr.* VI, ed. G. Kroll, Bruxelles 1903, p. 3. Summing up those who received a revelation in *Kölner Mani Kodex* 50, 6-62, 7, it is explicitly said that Seth received his by an angel.

¹² Michael Glycas p. 140: . . . τὸν θεὸν δηλαδὴ Οὐριήλ, πρὸς γε τὸν Σήθ κατιέναι καὶ τὸν Ἐνὼχ καντεῦθεν αὐτοῖς ὑποδείξει τροπὰς ὥρων καὶ ἐπισημασίας ἀστέρων ἐκ παλαιᾶς ἡκουσάμεν ἱστορίας.

¹³ See Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 31d-32a, ed. E. H. Gifford, tom. I, Oxonii 1903, p. 42, and Bar Hebraeus, *Hist. Comp. Dynast.*, p. 7: *Sabii autem autumnant Sethum Adami filium Agathodaemonem Aegyptium esse, Hermetis praeceptorem.* . . See also A.-J. Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste et les Cultes Sciences Occultes*, Paris 1950², p. 67-88.

¹⁴ Malalas p. 5-6: οὗτος ὁ Σήθ πρῶτος ἐξεῦρε γράμματα Ἑβραϊκὰ καὶ σοφίαν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰς τροπὰς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν, καὶ τοὺς μῆνας καὶ τὰς ἑβδομάδας καὶ τοῖς ἀστροῖς ἐπέθηκεν ὀνόματα καὶ τοῖς πέντε πλανήταις. Suidas p. 248: . . . ἐξευρημένα: τὰ τε Ἑβραϊκὰ γράμματα τὰς τε τῶν ἀστέρων ὀνομασίας. The same is found in Michael Glycas p. 228 and *Joelis Chronographia Compendiaria*, ed. I. Bekker, in: *Corp. Script. Hist. Byzant.*, Bonnae 1836, p. 1-2.

¹⁵ Georgios Hamartolos, *Chronicon* I 1, in: MPG 110, c. 52C, writes that Seth ἐξεῦρε γράμματα Ἑβραϊκὰ καὶ σοφίαν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. This was discovered by Arpachshad later, since Seth had written it down ἐν πλακί λίθινῃ. Cedrenus p. 16, mentions that Josephus said that Seth wrote down his astrological knowledge on pillars, being λίθινην καὶ πλινθίνην. See also *Paris, graec.* 2419, quoted by R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*. Leipzig 1924, p. 183, n. 2: ὁ Σήθ ἐφεῦρε τὸ μάθημα τῆς ἀστρονομίας δι' ἀγγέλου Κυρίου ὅθεν καὶ προγνοὺς τὰ μέλλοντα γενέσθαι, κατακλυσμούς διὰ πυρός ἢ ὕδατος, δύο πύργους ἀνωκοδόμησεν λίθινον καὶ πλινθινον, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ μάθημα τῆς ἀστρονομίας συνέγραψεν, ἵνα εἰ μὲν διὰ πυρός γένηται ὁ κατακλυσμός ὁ

It is said by Syncellus that Seth was given knowledge of the future by an angel. He was told about the coming of the flood, the transgression of the Watchers and the appearance of the Saviour.¹⁶ Here we obviously have a number of influences. There are similar ideas in the *Vitae Adae et Evae*, but especially in Josephus. All this, however, appears to be combined with the theme of a revelation by an angel, originating with traditions concerning Enoch.

The tradition that Seth wrote his knowledge down on tablets or pillars was taken over by Christian authors from the *Vita Adae et Evae* and Josephus.¹⁷

In the Book of Jubilees, however, there is another story about the preservation of knowledge until after the flood, according to which Cainam, the son of Arpachshad, discovered the astrological teaching of the Watchers carved on a rock. He copied it but was afraid of telling it to Noah.¹⁸ What we have here is antediluvian knowledge of an evil character, which is moreover not entirely unknown in other traditions.¹⁹

λίθινος κτλ. According to *Cat. Cod. Astrol. Gr.* VII, ed. F. Boll, Bruxelles 1908, p. 87, Seth ἐν πλαξὶ πετρῖναις Ἑβραϊκῇ διαλεκτῇ ἐνεγράψατο παρὰ θεῖον ἀγγέλου ἐκδιδαχθεὶς, and Enoch did the same with regard to τὴν μέλλουσαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁργὴν.

¹⁶ Syncellus p. 16-17: . . . ὁ Σῆθ ἀρπαγείς ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων ἐμυήθη τὰ περὶ τῆς παραβάσεως μέλλοντα ἔσσεσθαι τῶν ἐργηγόρων, καὶ τὰ περὶ κατακλυσμοῦ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐσομένου καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ σωτῆρος. See also Cedrenus 16-17. According to Augustine, c. *Faustum* XIX 3, in: *MPL* 42, c. 349, the ten commandments were revealed to Enoch and Seth by an angel. We may add that Adam's knowledge of the future is a recurrent theme, see Josephus, *Antiquit.* I 70, b. *Sanh.* 38b, ed. Goldschmidt VII, p. 610, b. *Ab. Zara* 5a, ed. Goldschmidt IX, p. 446, *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan* ch. 31, p. 126, and the *Testament of Adam* fr. II 3, ed. Kmosko c. 1343-1344.

¹⁷ See Josephus, *Antiquit.* I 70, and *Vita Adae et Evae* L 1-2. Cf. *Paris. graec.* 2419, quoted above. See also *Monacensi* 387, f. 59, in: *Cat. Cod. Astrol. Gr.* VII, p. 87, where it is said that Seth wrote down the astrological knowledge taught by an angel ἐν πλαξὶ πετρῖναις Ἑβραϊκῇ διαλεκτῇ. This was handed down to Ammon the Greek, Enoch wrote down ἐν πλαξὶ λίθιναις the coming wrath of God. These were found ἐν ἔρσει τιπλ after the flood and brought to Palestine.

¹⁸ See *Jubilees* 8, 3-4. In *Zohar* I, *Bereshith* 56a, p. 179, we read that: "R. Eliazar said: In the time of Enosh, men were skilled in magic and divination, and the art of controlling the heavenly forces. . . From them these arts descended to the generation of the Flood and were practised for evil purposes. . ."

¹⁹ This can be compared with John Cassian, *Conlationes* XXI, p. 240: *Cham, filius Noë, qui superstitionibus istis et sacrilegis ac profanis erat artibus institutus, sciens nullum se posse super his memorialem librum in arcam prorsus inferre, in qua erat una cum patre iusto ac sanctis fratribus ingressurus,*

We might assume that a similar story was also known to Josephus. He wrote that Arpachshad taught his astrological knowledge to the Chaldaeans.²⁰ This might be the original tradition. Since the Jews regarded Chaldaean astrology as evil, we may suppose that in a second stage it was traced back to the fallen angels. Josephus' remark was taken over by Christian authors, such as Hippolytus,²¹ and in a different form by Procopius of Gaza²² and Cedrenus, who said that he taught his knowledge to the Indians.²³

All this would not be important to a study of Seth, were it not that a number of writers tried to combine the story in Jubilees about the astrological knowledge carved on a rock with Seth's knowledge of this subject. According to Malalas,²⁴ who was copied by Georgios Hamartolos²⁵ and Joel,²⁶ Seth wrote down his astrological knowledge and knew "from above" that a flood was to be expected. He therefore wrote all this down ἐν λιθίναις καὶ ὀστρίκιναις πλαξί. This influence of Jubilees is recognizable as soon as Malalas writes: Καὶνάν, ὁ υἱὸς Ἀρφαξάδ, συνεγράψατο τὴν ἀστρονομίαν εὐρηκώς τὴν τοῦ Σήθ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ τέκνων, ὀνομασίαν ὡς εἴρηται, τῶν ἀστέρων ἐν πλαξί λιθίνῃ γεγραμμένην ἥτις στήλη μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν εἰς τὸ Σίριδος ὄρος ἔμεινε, καὶ ἔστιν ἕως ἄρτι, ὡς φησὶν Ἰώσηπος.

Here we see that the knowledge discovered by Cainam was not that of the Watchers but that which Seth wrote down on pillars. This interesting blend of different stories was obviously restricted to Malalas and those copying him, since it is not found, for example, in Cedrenus, who, in two separate stories, appeared to know what Josephus had said about the pillars and what was said about Cainam in Jubilees.²⁷

From this, we see that Seth attracted a number of stories which originally were connected with other persons. What is especially

scelestem artes ac profuna commenta diversorum metallorum lamminis, quae scilicet aquarum conrumpi inundatione non possent, et durissimis lapidibus insculpsit.

²⁰ Josephus, *Antiquit.* I 144: Ἀρφαξάδης δὲ τοὺς νῦν Χαλδαίους καλουμένους Ἀρφαξαδαίους ὀνόμασεν ἄρξας αὐτῶν.

²¹ Hippolytus, *Kronik*, ed. R. Helm, in: *Griech. Christl. Schriftst.*, p. 72: Ἀρφαξάδ θὼν οἱ χαλδαῖοι.

²² Procopius of Gaza, *Comment. in Gen.*, in: *MPG* 87 I, c. 321BC.

²³ Cedrenus p. 27: Ἀρφαξάδ . . . ὃς παρέδωκεν τοῖς Ἰνδιοῖς ἀστρονομίαν.

²⁴ Malalas p. 5.

²⁵ Georgios Hamartolos, c. 52C-53A.

²⁶ Joel p. 1-2.

²⁷ Cedrenus p. 16 and 27.

striking is that he took the place of Enoch as the one who possessed astrological knowledge. As a mysterious figure living between Adam and the rest of mankind, he attracted the attention of those who were interested in ancient and antediluvian information. Christian authors relied upon Jewish sources only, sometimes combining them, but at others showing little originality or tendency to add the stories they already knew.

2. *The Books of Seth*

In the first part of this chapter we referred to certain passages in Enoch which mentioned books written by those living before the flood, among them books said to be written by Seth. It is, however, impossible to say with certainty that, in the Jewish literature known to us, there is any reference to books specifically written by Seth.²⁸ Very little is said too in Christian literature about his books.²⁹ As we shall see later this is not the case in Gnostic circles. It may of course be that the orthodox church rejected the idea of revelations written by Seth because of the popularity of Sethian books among the Gnostics. Christians had no need of special information given by Seth, whereas Gnostics were largely dependent on knowledge which had to come to them in a secret and unofficial way. In Christian circles too, however, it was known that some people had to rely on this kind of information, for example the Magi mentioned at the beginning of Matthew's Gospel (2, 1-12). It was sometimes thought that these Magi had learnt of the birth of Christ from books written by Seth.

The way in which the Magi knew about the coming of Jesus attracted the attention of certain Christians. In order to explain the source of their knowledge, not only was a fourth son of Noah invented and made responsible for having spread information about the future in the east,³⁰ but Zoroaster was also

²⁸ See p. 44-50.

²⁹ The comment in the *Book of the Bee* ch. XVIII, p. 28, according to which it was from Seth that "the knowledge of books went forth" is an exception.

³⁰ The *Book of the Bee* ch. XX, p. 33, says of ܐܢܬܝܢ that Noah "provided him with gifts and sent him to the fire of the sun to the east". In the *Chron. of Jerahmeel* XXXII 1, p. 69-70, we read: "And Nimrod the wicked went to Jonithes, ܝܢܝܬܝܫ, to learn his wisdom, for the spirit of the Lord was with him", but this may be due to a Christian influence. Nimrod's learning

adopted as one who had prophesied about the coming of Christ.³¹

There are some cases, however, of books known to the Magi. It is clear that this tradition goes back to ideas about the Testament of Adam, which on its turn has its roots in the tradition known to us in the *Vita Adae et Evae*.

The earliest texts of the Testament of Adam are known to us from a number of Syriac manuscripts.³² These texts consist of three fragments. The first two may belong to an original text, but the third, which is only known in one manuscript, was apparently added at a later date.³³

The two original fragments are of a totally different character and we cannot accept the hypothesis that they originally belonged together. The first part is a *horarium* and refers to those who praise God throughout the twelve hours of the day and the twelve hours of the night. This part does not have the character of a testament, although, in some manuscripts, it is said that this was communicated to Seth by Adam before he died.³⁴ This, however, is a later addition which forms a link between the first and the second parts, the second part being clearly a testament.

This second part, which is known to us in a shorter and a longer version³⁵ is important for our subject. In it Adam tells Seth about

wisdom from this son of Noah can also be found in the *Cave of Treasures* p. 33 and the *Book of Adam* p. 119. In the second document, he is called "Barvin". In *Kitāb al-Magālī* p. 37, however, he is called "Bouniter". According to this writing, Nimrod "deposited Books making known what Bouniter the son of Noah taught him". In the *Cave of Treasures* p. 56-57 and the *Book of Adam* p. 136, we read that these books of Nimrod were consulted by the Magi.

³¹ According to *Chron. of Jerahmeel* XXXV 4, p. 78, Abraham taught Zoroaster his magic sciences. This may be attributed to a Christian influence. The passages in Christian literature about Zoroaster can be found in J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les Mages Hellenisés* II, Paris 1938, p. 117-135, see also Part I, Paris 1938, p. 41-55. See also W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen 1907, p. 369-378: Exkurs V, *Nimrod und Zoroaster*; H. Windisch, *Die Orakel des Hystapses*, in: *Verhandel. der kon. Akademie v. Wetensch. Amsterdam*, afd. Letterkunde, nwe Reeks XXVIII 3, Amsterdam 1929, p. 17-18, and H. J. Schoeps, *Die Urgeschichte nach den Pseudoklementinen*, in: *Aus frühchristlicher Zeit. Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Tübingen 1956, p. 1-37, esp. 9ff.

³² See *Testament of Adam*, ed. Kmosko p. 1309-1360.

³³ See G. J. Reinink, *Das Problem des Ursprungs des Testamentes Adams* in: *Symposium Syriacum* 1972, in: *Orient. Christ. Anal.* 197, Rome 1974, p. 387-399.

³⁴ In the Kmosko codices E and F, see p. 1329-1330.

³⁵ In the Kmosko codices C, see p. 1339-1346, and D, see p. 1345-1354.

God's coming to the world. We read about the incarnation, the miracles of Jesus, his death, his descent into the realm of death and his resurrection. The flood that is to submerge the world because of Cain's jealousy of Abel with regard to his sister, is mentioned and we read that the end of the world will come in six thousand years. At the end of this fragment we read that Adam was buried to the east of paradise opposite the city of Enoch while the sun and the moon were darkened for seven days. The Testament of Adam was sealed and laid in the Cave of Treasures with the gold, myrrh and incense, which was taken by Adam from paradise. The work ends with the following words: "And the sons of the kings, the Magi will come and offer them to the son of God in Bethlehem of Judah in the cave. End of the Testament of Adam".

The two parts of the second fragment about the future are of a different character. The first part is purely Christian and the second, about the flood and the end of the world, is clearly Jewish in origin. The fragment as a whole can be explained in the light of the *Vita Adae et Evae*. It is concerned with Adam's prophecy about the future and the coming judgement by water and fire. The darkening of sun and moon at the time of Adam's burial are unmistakably elements taken from the *Vita Adae et Evae*.³⁶

The theme of Adam's prophecy about the future and especially the coming of Christ made when he left Paradise can also be found in the Cave of Treasures.³⁷ The Testament of Adam and the Cave of Treasures are also in agreement with each other with regard to the name of the place where the offerings were kept. We are, however, clearly dealing with two different traditions since, according to the Testament of Adam, Adam was not buried in that cave.³⁸

It is not clear why the Testament was laid in the cave. Nothing is said about the Magi gaining information from this Testament. The Syriac text does not say whether the Magi also took the Testament before they went to Bethlehem with the offerings kept in the cave.³⁹ This may show that there was a tradition according

³⁶ See *Vita Adae et Evae* XXIX 1-10 and XLV 3, cf. *Apocalypse of Moses* XXXVI 1-3.

³⁷ *Cave of Treasures* p. 7.

³⁸ See also Reinink, *op. cit.* p. 389-390.

³⁹ The text is not quite clear in codices C and D, but F, see Kmosko p. 1351-1352, only mentions the offering of gold, myrrh and incense.

to which nothing was said about Magi. This would point to a Jewish origin.

The contents of the Testament of Adam were included in the Arabic text known as the Kitāb al-Magāll. This is also called "one of the hidden books of Saint Clement, the disciple of Peter".⁴⁰ The basis of this writing is the tradition found in the Cave of Treasures. The use of both the Testament of Adam and the traditions known from the Cave of Treasures resulted in a number of discrepancies in the text.

According to the Arabic text, the Testament of Adam had been written by Seth, who had received the commandment to go to Adam with Enosh, Kenan and Mahalalel when he was about to die.⁴¹ The contents of this Testament are available in their totality and as we have already said, are in agreement with one of the versions known to the Syriac tradition.⁴² After the Testament had been written by Seth, it was put in the Cave of Treasures with the offerings brought from paradise by Adam.⁴³ In agreement with the text of the Testament, it is said that Adam was buried to the east of paradise and opposite the city of Enoch. This is, however, not in accordance with the other source used by the author. In agreement with the Cave of Treasures, the Kitāb al-Magāll relates that Adam assembled his children when he was dying and ordered them to embalm his body with myrrh and cassia and to bury him in the Cave of Treasures,⁴⁴ a command which had been given him by God.⁴⁵

The Kitāb al-Magāll clearly states that the Testament was brought to Bethlehem by the Magi,⁴⁶ but elsewhere it is stated that the Magi gained possession of the Testament because it was handed down from generation to generation.⁴⁷ This idea is encountered again in another document, which seems to imply that what we have here is a tradition which was connected with the Testament. It was obviously not invented by the author of the Kitāb al-Magāll.

⁴⁰ ed. Gibson, in: *Apocrypha Arabica*, in: *Studia Sinaitica* VIII, London 1902, p. 1.

⁴¹ p. 12.

⁴² The text is generally in agreement with the manuscripts E and F, according to the editions of Kmosko.

⁴³ p. 17.

⁴⁴ p. 13.

⁴⁵ p. 11.

⁴⁶ p. 17 and 18.

⁴⁷ p. 31-32.

According to his own words, Jared commanded Methuselah to take the bodies of Adam and the others buried in the Cave of Treasures, to a place which was to be revealed by God and also to take the Books of Testament and the offerings.⁴⁸ Here it appears that the Testament was to be kept with the offerings in the Cave of Treasures. How little the author was really interested in the Testament appears from a passage later in his book, according to which Noah was told by Methuselah to clear the Cave of Treasures because of the coming flood, but the Testament of Adam is not even mentioned.⁴⁹

We may conclude that the author of the *Kitāb al-Magāll* was familiar with two traditions concerning the way in which the Testament became known to the Magi. According to the first, already known to us, the Testament was kept in the Cave of Treasures, according to the second, it was handed down from generation to generation.

The second tradition is to be found in an Armenian Gospel of Infancy. According to this account the Magi said that they had received a written testimony from their ancestors which was signed and handed down from generation to generation. It was originally given to Adam by God and delivered to Seth. Seth later handed it on to Melchizedek and through him it became known to the people of the Magi, who kept it in a special room.⁵⁰

It is obvious that we are here concerned with a testament for two reasons. Firstly the book mentioned in this work was apparently be sealed. Secondly, and more importantly, the Magi gave the "Book of the Testament" to Jesus and quoted from its contents, that after six thousand years the son of God was expected to come.⁵¹

It is clear then, that the existence of a Testament of Adam was fully integrated into the story of the Magi. This was basically a prophecy intended for people in the East.

This tradition helps us to explain the story contained in a document called *In Matthaeum homiliae* II, which was thought to have been written by John Chrysostom but really goes back to a fifth

⁴⁸ p. 22-23.

⁴⁹ p. 25-26.

⁵⁰ ed. P. Peeters, *Les Évangiles Apocryphes*, II *L'Évangile de l'Enfance*, in: *Textes et Documents*, Paris 1914, p. 69-386: *Le Livre Arménien de l'Enfance*, p. 138-139.

⁵¹ p. 147-148.

century Arian author.⁵² This text refers to a book apparently written by Seth and kept on the *Mons Victorialis*.⁵³

In this passage, it is not said that the book was originally in Adam's possession. Nevertheless it is too closely connected with the Magi for it to go back to a tradition different from the one mentioned above.

The story contained in Pseudo-Chrysostom's treatise relates how a tribe living in the East, near the Ocean, possessed a book written by Seth, how a star appeared and how gifts had to be offered. This book had to be studied without interruption from generation to generation by twelve scholars. Every year these men had to climb the *Mons Victorialis*, where there was a cave and fragrant trees. They prayed there and honoured God in silence. Finally, after many years, a star appeared in the form of a small child with a cross above him. The Magi then went to Bethlehem. In conclusion the Magi were visited by the apostle Thomas, who baptized them.⁵⁴

This story contains a number of elements not encountered in the sources previously mentioned. One of these new elements is the name of the place where the book was kept, the *Mons Victorialis*, and another is the way in which the book was honoured by successive generations of Magi. These elements have been explained as the result of a Persian influence.⁵⁵ This influence can be accepted in sources of eastern origin, but the main object of the story is still in accordance with the tradition concerning a Testament of Adam which was known to the Magi.

Finally, this tradition is also found in the Chronicle attributed

⁵² Ps. Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum Homiliae* II, in: *MPG* 56, c. 637-638, see also O. Bardenhewer, *Gesch. der altchristl. Lit.* III², p. 597, and J. Quasten, *Patrology* III, Utrecht and Antwerp 1960, p. 471.

⁵³ The name *Mons Triumphalis* is also mentioned in the *Cave of Treasures* p. 17, as the place where Methuselah, Lamech and Noah lived. According to A. Kugener, *Un Traité astronomique et météorologique syriaque attribué à Denys l'Aréopagite*, in: *Actes de XIVe Congrès Internat. des Orientalistes*, Alger 1905, Deux. Partie, Deux. Section, Paris 1907, p. 137-198, p. 189, the Magi saw the star "sur la Montagne des Splendeurs", where the offerings were kept in the Cave of Treasures.

⁵⁴ For Thomas' journey to Persia, see Clement of Alex., *Strom.* I 15 71, and Origen, *c. Cels.* I 24 and 58.

⁵⁵ See Bidez and Cumont, *op. cit.* II, p. 119, n. 7. U. Monneret de Villard, *Le Legende Orientali sui Magi Evangelici*, in: *Studi e Testi* 163, Città del Vaticano 1952, p. 20-26; G. Widengren, *Iranisch-Semitische Kulturbegegnung in Parthischer Zeit*, in: *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen*, Geisteswissensch. H. 70, Köln und Opladen 1960, p. 62ff, and *ibid.*, *Die Religionen Persiens*, Stuttgart 1965, p. 207ff.

to Pseudo-Dionysius. This document is often quoted by those scholars who believe that the tradition concerning the Magi was subject to Persian influence, but the work itself is basically simply a compilation from different sources, without any great originality.⁵⁶

This text deals principally with the twelve Magi, whose names agree with those mentioned in the Book of the Bee.⁵⁷ They lived in the land of Šir in the far east near the Ocean, to the west of the land of Nod where once Adam lived. This shows that the author was familiar with the traditions known from the Cave of Treasures.⁵⁸ In connection with the sources which provided the Magi with their knowledge of the birth of Christ, the author writes that a book was kept on the *Mons Triumphalis* and that it was honoured and studied from generation to generation—a clear parallel with the theme in Pseudo-Chrysostom. The description of the appearance of the star is also in accordance with this text.⁵⁹ Finally, the use of this source is abundantly clear from the reference to Thomas' visit to the country of the Magi.⁶⁰

What is, however, different, from the source is the idea that the contents of this book were revealed to Seth by Adam. According to Pseudo-Dionysius it was sealed and handed on from generation to generation up to the time of Noah, who gave it to the ancestors of the Magi.⁶¹ Here again, we meet traditions which are clearly related to those of the Armenian Gospel of the Infancy and which can ultimately be traced back to those concerning the Testament of Adam.

From this, we can therefore conclude that nothing is known of any books originally written by Seth, apart from what is said in Pseudo-Chrysostom. Any reference to such books points to the fact that they were dictated by Adam, who speaks about salvation and judgement in the future. This tradition was known to the author of the *Vita Adae et Evae* and was closely related to the idea

⁵⁶ See A. Götze, *Die Nachwirkung der Schatzhöhle*, in: *Zeitschr. für Semistik und verwandte Gebiete* 2 1923, p. 52-94, and 3 1924, p. 53-71 and 153-177, p. 59.

⁵⁷ Ps. Dionysius, *Chronicon*, p. 45.

⁵⁸ p. 45, see *Cave of Treasures* p. 57.

⁵⁹ On p. 52 it is said that a *columna lucis* was seen above the cave where Jesus was born; this is also found in *Un Traité astronomique*. . . , ed. Kugener p. 189.

⁶⁰ p. 67-70.

⁶¹ p. 46.

of Adam having written a Testament. It is possible that this idea originated among the Jews, but no Jewish form of such a document is known to us.

Among Syriac Christians, the tradition of the Testament of Adam was closely connected with the story of the Magi. In most stories of the Magi, the latter were in possession of a Testament, but in the tradition mentioned by Pseudo-Chrysostom, the original idea of such a Testament is lost, obviously because of a foreign influence. What is more, those traditions concerning a Testament of Adam which were connected with spices brought by Adam from paradise was not originally related to Adam's place of burial. It was only at a later date that the cave in which the treasures were kept was also believed to be Adam's burial place.

In this chapter, then, we have attempted to show that there were very few original ideas about any knowledge going back to Seth, at least among Christians, who generally relied on Jewish sources referring to Seth's astrological knowledge or his ability to write. What is more, any writing that he did was usually dictated to him by Adam or the result of Adam's command. Seth was hardly known among Christians as the source of any special or hidden knowledge.

b. *The Generation of Seth*

According to Jewish literature, the generation of Seth and Cain lived quite separate. We are even told that the Cainites were descendants of the devil and that their generation had ceased to exist after having been destroyed during the flood. Mankind descended from Seth whose generation was represented by Noah. According to most Jewish texts, then, the two generations of Cain and Seth only persisted up to the time of the flood.

There is, however, another train of thought in this literature, namely that both generations persisted, one remaining righteous and the other wicked. Apart from passages in rather late writings like the *Pirḳê de Rabbi Eliezer* and *Zohar*, this idea is encountered in Philo and the second dream vision in the Ethiopic Book of Enoch. In Samaritan literature too, there is reference to a "chain of purity" which was not simply limited to the time before the flood.

In this section we shall once again discuss the theme of Cain and Seth in Christian writings, dividing the section into three sub-

sections. In the first, we shall deal with Greek authors and especially the Byzantine chronographers, who were influenced by Julius Africanus and Josephus. In the second section, we shall consider the generations of Seth and Cain in the traditions represented by the Cave of Treasures. Finally we shall examine the works of a number of Syriac commentators and especially their leading representative Ephrem, whose writing reveals a knowledge of the rabbinic speculations about the subject.

1. *Greek, Authors, especially the Byzantine Chronographers*

The influence of Julius Africanus on the Byzantine Chronographers cannot be overestimated.⁶² In the context of our study, what is important is that he was, as far as we know, the first to identify the sons of God mentioned in Gen. 6, 1 with the Sethites.⁶³

He was clearly aware of the patristic exegesis of Gen. 6 identifying the sons of God with angels⁶⁴ and wrote that if the passages in question referred to angels (εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ἀγγέλων νοοῖτο), they taught women magic, enchantment, the movement of the stars and the knowledge of the things in heaven (τῶν περὶ μαγείας καὶ γοητείας, ἔτι δὲ ἀριθμῶν κινήσεως, τῶν μετέωρων τὴν γνῶσιν παραδεδοκέναι . . .). Giants were the offspring of their intercourse with the daughters of men. This clearly shows that Julius Africanus was acquainted with the traditions known to us from the Apocalypse of Enoch.⁶⁵

⁶² Julius Africanus wrote his Chronography about 225, cf. Bardenhewer, *Gesch. der altchristl. Lit.* 112, p. 265-266: "An eifrigen Bewunderern und fleissigen Benutzern hat es dieser ersten christlichen Weltchronik nicht gefehlt. Der Vater der Kirchengeschichte hat . . . die ganze byzantinische Geschichtschreibung beherrscht."

⁶³ Quoted in Syncellus p. 34-35.

⁶⁴ See Justin Martyr, *Apol.* 1 15; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* IV 36 4; Irenaeus, *Demon.* 18, Athenagoras, *Legatio* 24 5-6; Clement of Alex., *Strom.* V 10 2; Pseudo-Clement, *Homil.* VIII 12-15, p. 126, 96-128, 7; and *Recogn.* IV 26, herausgegeben von B. Rehm. Zum Druck besorgt durch P. Paschke, in: *Griech. Christl. Schriftst.*, Berlin 1965, p. 159 (but see p. 67-68.), Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 186cd, p. 243-244; Tertullian, *De Hab. Virg* 14; Lactantius, *Instit.* II 14; Ambrose, *De Noe* 4, 8; Commodian, *Instruct. Lib.* I III; Bardesanus, *Lib. Leg. Reg.* 9, ed. F. Nau, in: *Patrol. Syr.* I II, Paris 1907, c. 548-549. See also Dexinger, *op. cit.*, p. 97-101.

⁶⁵ See I Enoch 8, 3-4. In the passages quoted in the previous note, the influence of Enoch is often seen, especially in those of Tertullian and the Ps. Clementines, cf. Clement of Alex., *Eclog. Proph.* 53, 3, ed. Stählin, *Clemens Alexandrinus* III, in: *Griech. Christl. Schriftst.*, Leipzig 1909, p. 152: . . . Ἐνώχ φησι τοὺς παρὰβάντας ἀγγέλους διδάξαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀστρονομίαν καὶ μαντικὴν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας.

Julius also states that the words "the sons of God" are also found in some copies of Genesis and goes on to say: *μυθεύεται δέ, ὡς οἶμαι ἀπὸ τοῦ Σήθ*. It is clear that this explanation is not favoured by him, although the Sethites, he affirms, received this name *διὰ τοῦ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γενεαλογουμένους δικαίους τε καὶ πατριάρχας ἔχει τοῦ σωτῆρος*. This is interesting, since this establishes a direct lineage from Seth to the Patriarchs and Jesus. This means, then, that Julius believed that the generation of Seth continued after the flood, but also that its importance was not based on the past, that is, the Sethites' special virtues before the flood, but on the future, that is, their being the fathers of the Messiah.

He has this to say about the descendants of Cain: *τούς δ' ἀπὸ Κάιν ἀνθρώπων ἀποκαλεῖ σποράν* ⁶⁶ *ὡς οὐδὲ τι θεῖον ἐσχηκότας διὰ πονηρίαν γένους καὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀνόμοιον ἐπιμιχθέντων αὐτῶν, τὴν ἀγανάκτησιν ποιήσασθαι τὸν Θεόν*.

This passage is far from clear with regard to the words *ἐπιμιχθέντων αὐτῶν*. Although the Cainites belonged to a wicked generation, they were not "mixed". Obviously, then, Syncellus incorrectly rendered Julius Africanus' words. The other sources who would seem to be dependent on Julius Africanus refer to a mixed people only in the case of intercourse between Sethites and Cainites.⁶⁷

We may therefore conclude that, according to most scholars, Julius Africanus identified the sons of God mentioned in Gen. 6 with the Sethites.⁶⁸

The Byzantine Chronographers from Malalas onwards were concerned with the special characteristics both of the Sethites and the Cainites. Cain was not only a farmer, γεωργός, but also the inventor of μέτρα, στάθμα and γῆς ὅρους. He lived in Naïd and built

⁶⁶ It is striking that Julius Africanus used the word *σπορά* which is encountered only in Philo, see p. 26., but which is important in the gnostic writings, but also John Cassian, *Conlationes* XXI, p. 238: *Seth . . . de optima radice procedens, pro merito sanctitatis angeli dei sive ut diversa exemplaria continent filii dei vocati sunt* . . .

⁶⁷ See H. Gelzer, *Julius Africanus und die Byzantinische Chronographie*, Leipzig 1898, p. 63-64, who quotes parallel passages in Symeon Metaphrastes about the Watchers . . . *ἐπιμίξιν ποιησάμενοι* and their teaching magic and astronomy and Procopius of Gaza, who assumes that the sons of God were the Sethites and adds *γράφεται καὶ ἄγγελοι καὶ ἄγγέλων μίξις ἀδύνατος καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ἐστίν*. It is, however, doubtful whether these authors were dependent on Julius Africanus.

⁶⁸ See L. R. Wickham, *The Sons of God and the Daughters of Men; Genesis VI 2 in early Christian Exegesis*, in: *Oudtestamentische Studiën* 19 1974, p. 136-147, and Dexinger, *op. cit.*, p. 106-108.

a city named after his son Enoch close to Eden. The Cainites were also warriors.⁶⁹

All this was taken over from Josephus.⁷⁰ An influence from other sources on Malalas is apparent in the statement that certain people believed that a house fell on Cain, but that others thought that he was killed by Lamech. The first opinion can clearly be traced to a tradition known to the author of the Book of Jubilees⁷¹ and the second to a story well-known among Syriac writing authors and ultimately going back to rabbinical sources.⁷²

Malalas appears again to be dependent on Josephus when he states that Jabel devoted himself to cattle-keeping, Jubal made harps and stringed instruments and that Tubalcain became a copper-smith.⁷³

The generation of Seth were, according to Malalas, sons of God. There is more than one reason for calling them "gods". We have already referred to the idea that Seth himself was called "god" because of his knowledge of Jewish letters, his piety and the fact that he named the stars.⁷⁴ Malalas tries to justify this title by claiming that, in the Old Testament, it was often applied to special persons, such as Moses, who was called by this name in Exod. 7, 1 and the authorities in Exod. 22, 28. He also refers to the translation of Symmachus who discusses the words *υἱοὶ τῶν θεῶν* in Gen. 6, 1.⁷⁵ This can only mean that the translation *ἄγγελοι* was still usually read in the Greek text of the Old Testament used by Malalas. This translation was abandoned because it was regarded as impossible for angels to have intercourse with human beings.⁷⁶ But this cannot

⁶⁹ Malalas p. 4.

⁷⁰ See Josephus, *Antiquit.* I 61 and I 66, cf. also Ginzberg, *Legends* V, p. 144-145, referring to the relation between *קֶמֶר* and *מִקְלָה*, as "measuring rod".

⁷¹ See *Jubilees* 4, 31, also in Syncellus p. 19, Cedrenus p. 16 and Georgios Hamartolos c. 49A.

⁷² Malalas p. 4 and p. 8-9. See also p. 73-74.

⁷³ Malalas p. 4, cf. Josephus *Antiquit.* I 54.

⁷⁴ Malalas p. 7.

⁷⁵ Malalas p. 7. The Old Testament passages are also quoted by Georgios Hamartolos c. 88A and Procopius of Gaza, *Comment. in Gen.* IV, in: *MPG* 87 I, c. 260C. For those referring to Symmachus or Aquila, see Cyril of Alex., *Glaph. in Gen.* II, in: *MPG* 69, c. 53C, Suidas p. 348, and Georgios Hamartolos c. 88A.

⁷⁶ See Chrysostom, *Gen. Hom. in cap. V et VI* XXII 3, in: *MPG* 53, c. 189; Basil, *Orat.* VI, in: *MPG* 85, c. 89; Theodoret, *Quaest. XLVII in Gen.* VI, in: *MPG* 80, c. 148BC; Photius, *Ad Amphil. Quaestio* CCLV, in: *MPG* 101, c. 1065C-1068A, and Filaster, *De Haer.* CVIII, in: ed. F. Marx, in: *Corp.*

be the only reason. An equally important reason is that Gen. 6 was thought to refer to Sethites and Cainites. This originated within circles where the reading "sons of God" was known since we clearly notice that attempts are made to explain why the Sethites are called "gods". If a text containing the word "angels" was used, it had to be shown that the Sethites were comparable with angels. This, however, shows that the idea of the Sethites being called "gods" did not originate in circles where the LXX was read. For this reason, we have to accept that Julius Africanus was the first to introduce this idea into the west and that he in his turn heard about it in circles in which Syriac was spoken and the Peshitto of the Old Testament was read with the version: *ܡܠܐܟܝܬܐ*.⁷⁷

The Greek authors, then, accepted the idea that the Sethites were "sons of God" or "gods", an idea ultimately based on a text of Gen. 6 which spoke of "angels". For this reason, they not only had to point to other translations, like Symmachus, who referred to "sons of God", but also to a number of other passages from which it was clear that the Sethites were gods. One of these is Gen. 4, 26. We have already seen that this passage is sometimes used to show that Seth was called "god".⁷⁸ Usually, however, Greek authors followed the LXX in its reference to Enosh, who "hoped" to call upon the name of God. From this, many of them concluded that the children of Seth were called "sons of God" and therefore separated themselves from the Cainites.⁷⁹

Giants were born from the intercourse between Sethites and Cainites. They were called *ἰσχυροὶ* and *μέγιστοι* because they were descended from Seth and *πονηροὶ* and *κάκιστοι* because they were children of the Cainites.⁸⁰

Malalas also influenced later chronographers.⁸¹ For the most

Script. Eccl. Lat. 38, p. 69, and Augustine, *De Civ. Dei* XV 22-23, in: *Corp. Christ. Ser. Lat.* XLVIII, Turnholt 1955, p. 487-489.

⁷⁷ See Dexinger, *op. cit.*, p. 122 and p. 131: "Der Wandel (scil. from "angels" to "Sethites"), der sich mit Julius Africanus anbahnt, weist auf eine semitische Kirchenväter-Tradition, nämlich die der Syrer hin".

⁷⁸ See p. 40-41.

⁷⁹ Athanasius, *Interpret. ex V.T.*, in: *MPG* 28, c. 740CD; Cyril. of Alex., *Glaph. in Gen.* II, in: *MPG* 69, c. 53C; Anastasius Sinaita, *Quaest.* XXV, in: *MPG* 89, c. 551BC; Photius, *ad Amphil. Quaestio* CCVI, in: *MPG* 101, c. 1065CD.

⁸⁰ Malalas p. 8, also in Suidas p. 48 and Georgios Hamartolos c. 88A.

⁸¹ See Bardenhewer, *Gesch. der Altchristl. Lit.* V², p. 121.

part, exactly the same is said and no originality is displayed. A few details, however, call for our attention. These can be found in Syncellus and Cedrenus.

Apart from the passages where he agrees with Malalas, Syncellus calls Cain τύπος . . . τοῦ διαβόλου⁸² and Lamech τύπος . . . τοῦ Ἰουδαίκοῦ κυριοκτόνου λαοῦ. He also regards Enoch as the inventor of the plough. Because he invented measures he was ἀρπαξ καὶ πλεονέκτης.⁸³ Cain lived in a land which was τρέμουσα and χαμηλὴ separated from Seth.⁸⁴

There is a certain confusion of traditions concerning the generation of Seth. The Sethites are called Ἐγγήγοροι living not far from Eden in a region which is situated on a high place. Syncellus was clearly influenced here by Enoch, according to whom the angels coming down from heaven were the Watchers who lived in the heavenly world.⁸⁵ The influence of Enoch has also been used to explain Syncellus' statement that the Sethites were living ἀγγελικῶς, but a more probable influence here is Gen. 6, 1 (LXX), which refers to "angels". Their beauty is praised, but they were seduced by the beauty of the "daughters of men". This resulted in the birth of giants.⁸⁶

In another passage,⁸⁷ Cain went to live in the land Ὀδ, ἥτις μεθερμηνεύεται τρέμουσα. Syncellus calls his descendants χθαμαλοὶ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, διὰ τὴν καθάραν Κάνν and the Sethites, on the contrary, γίγαντες καὶ ὡς ἄγγελοι θεοῦ ἐν τῇ ὑψηλῇ. The daughters of Cain lured the Sethites from their country διὰ μουσικῶν αὐλῶν καὶ

⁸² Syncellus p. 15-16, cf. Hugh of St. Victor, *Allegoria in V.T., Lib. I, c. XI*, in: *MPL* 175, c. 640D: *Seth significat Christum, Cain diabolum.*

⁸³ Josephus, *Antiquit.* I 54 and 61, cf. Petrus Comestor, *Hist. Schol. Lib. Gen. c. XXVI*, in *MPL* 198, c. 1077A: *Munera vero Cain, ex avaritia hominis nata.*

⁸⁴ Syncellus p. 15-16.

⁸⁵ See II Enoch 12, 4 and 13, 10 and *Jubilees* 4, 15 and 22. See for the idea of Sethites being angels: Procopius of Gaza, *Comment. in Gen.* VI 2, in: *MPG* 87, I, c. 265B-268A: Ἀγγέλους οὖν καὶ υἱοὺς θεοῦ καλεῖ (scil. Moses) τὸ γένος τὸ ἐκλεκτὸν, τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Σὴθ καὶ Ἐνὼς, οὓς οὕτως ἐκάλουν δι' ὁσιότητα. Κατὰ τὸ "Εγὼ εἶπα Θεοὶ ἐστε", and John Cassian, *Conlationes* XXI, p. 238: *pro merito sanctitatis angeli dei sive ut diversa exemplaria continent filii dei vocati sunt.*

⁸⁶ Syncellus p. 17, and see also p. 19: οἱ δὲ ἐκ γένους αὐτοῦ (scil. Seth) διακόσιοι ἐγγήγοροι τῷ χιλιεστῷ τῆς κοσμογονίας ἔτει, τεσσαρεκκοστοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Ἰάρεθ, αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Σὴθ ἑπτακοσιοστοῦ ἑβδομηκοστοῦ, πλαιοθέντες κατέβησαν. καὶ ἔλαβον ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας ἐκ τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐγέννησαν τοὺς γίγαντας τοὺς ὀνομαστοὺς, . . .

⁸⁷ Syncellus p. 26.

κινυρῶν. This was a popular belief which can be explained in the light of Gen. 4, 21, according to which Cain's descendants were the inventors of musical instruments.⁸⁸

Cedrenus was dependent on Syncellus, but it is clear that he also used other sources. He taught that the giants were both strong and wicked because they were descended both from Seth and from Cain. This theme is also present in Malalas.⁸⁹ These giants were also called δρακοντόποδες. According to Cedrenus, they waged war with the inhabitants of heaven but were killed from heaven and later destroyed by the flood. This tradition is also found in the Pseudo-Clementine writings.⁹⁰

The use of different sources is clearly seen in the continuation of the passage about the "dragon-legs". Cedrenus writes that "they (οὗτοι) swore on Mount Hermon to take from the daughters of man, viz. the offspring of Cain". From this Mount Hermon is supposed to have its name.⁹¹

This passage cannot deal with the giants, since it is concerned with those who wished to have intercourse with the "daughters of men" of which union the giants were born. It cannot, moreover, refer to the Sethites, since the inhabitants of the mountains were not seduced by the inhabitants of the plain, but descended themselves. This story fully agrees with the tradition of the fall of the angels. It is a tradition known to Jerome who read about it in an apocryphal book. It refers to the sons of God who came down from heaven on Mount Hermon and wished to go to the daughters of

⁸⁸ The idea that the Sethites were seduced by the music of the Cainites was especially popular among the Syriac writing authors, cf. p. 70, see Ps. Clement, *Hom.* II 25, p. 65, 16-26; Theodoret, *Quaest. in Gen.* XLVII, in: *MPG* 80, c. 149B, and Photius, *ad Amphil. Quaestio* CCLV, in: *MPG* 101, c. 1065D-1068A.

⁸⁹ See Cedrenus p. 18-19: ἰσχυροὶ καὶ μέγιστοι . . . ὑπερμήκεις, τερατώδεις τε καὶ ἀπνεκτοὶ . . . ἄλκιμοι καὶ κραταιότατοι, καὶ στεργοὶ καὶ τὴν ἀλκὴν . . . φονικώτατοι καὶ ἀσέβεστατοι καὶ ἀσελγέστατοι, and also John Cassian, *Conlationes* XXI, p. 240: (sons of Cain) *qui fuerunt rebusitissimi venatores violentissimi ac truculentissimi viri, qui pro inornitate corporum vel crudelitate atque malitiae gigantes nuncupati sunt.*

⁹⁰ Ps. Clement, *Rec.* I 29, p. 24-25, and *Hom.* VIII 15 1, p. 127, where the idea is rejected, and Cyril of Alex., c. *Julianum* Lib. IX, in: *MPG* 76, c. 957A, and *Glaph. in Gen. Lib.* II, in: *MPG* 76, c. 56A, and Theodoret, *Quaest. in Gen.* c. VI, in: *MPG* 80, c. 152AB.

⁹¹ Cedrenus p. 19, cf. Michael Syrus I III, ed. Chabot p. 5. This was taken from I Enoch 6, 4-6. It is obvious that the verb הָרַם was supposed to be related with the name "Hermon". Cedrenus p. 20 himself shows that he was acquainted with Enoch: ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου βιβλίου Ἐνώχ περὶ τῶν ἐγγρηγόρων.

men. In this passage these sons of God were identified with angels.⁹² In identifying the daughters of men with the Cainites, Cedrenus was introducing his own idea into the original story.

After this passage, Cedrenus goes on to say that "they" taught the women *φαρμακείας καὶ ἐπαοιδίας, καὶ πρῶτος Ἀζαήλ ὁ δέκατος ἄρχων . . . ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς ποιεῖν μαχαίρας . . .* They also told them to beautify their bodies and made them acquainted with precious stones, tinctures, roots, enchantments and astrology.⁹³ This again reveals the influence of Enoch.⁹⁴

In the writings of the Byzantine chronographers and other Greek authors, then, there is general agreement that Gen. 6 refers to the intercourse of the Sethites and Cainites. There were also several stories referring to this passage and mostly assuming that it dealt with angels. Enoch had a great influence on the ideas contained in this tradition. As we have seen, it was not always possible to reconcile the stories about fallen angels with later traditions about the intercourse of the Sethites and Cainites. Finally, it is also clear that Josephus was an important source of information for the stories about the generations of Seth and Cain.

2. *The Cave of Treasures and Related Literature*

As usual several identical ideas are also contained in a group of texts of Syriac origin. Among these are the Cave of Treasures, the Kitāb al-Magāll, Eutychius and the Book of Adam. The Book of the Bee and a number of Armenian writings are often included among these texts, all of which have something to say about the generations of Seth and Cain.⁹⁵

⁹² Jerome, *Tract. de Psalmo CXXXII* 2, in: *Corp. Christ. Ser. Lat.* LXXVIII, ed. G. Morin, Turnholti 1958, p. 281: *Filii, inquit, Dei, qui de caelis descendebant, et venerunt in Ermon, et concupierunt filias hominum, angeli, inquit, sunt de caelestibus descendentes. . .*

⁹³ Cedrenus p. 19.

⁹⁴ See I Enoch 7, 1-9, 8.

⁹⁵ It is very doubtful whether the Pseudo-Clementines should be included among the texts dealing with the two generations of Cain and Seth. This was suggested by H. J. Schoeps, *Aus frühchristlicher Zeit. . .*, p. 11-19. The *Homilies* and *Recognitions* differ in what they say about Gen. 6. Both in *Hom.* VIII 12-14, p. 126-127, and in *Rec.* IV 26, p. 159, we read about the fall of the angels. *Hom.* III 25, p. 65, says that the offspring of Cain invented musical instruments and were blacksmiths and that they were responsible for adultery and war because of their music. According to *Rec.* I 29, p. 24-25 righteous people of the eighth generation lived as angels but

According to the *Cave of Treasures* and the other texts Seth was commanded by Adam to rule his people.⁹⁶ At the same time he had to separate himself from the Cainites. This is not quite in agreement with the *Book of the Bee*, since according to the latter, the Sethites were already living on the Mountain during the time of Adam,⁹⁷ while Cain and his offspring were living in the plain.⁹⁸

Those living on the Mountain after Adam's death were Seth, Kenan and Mahalalel. They were of outstanding purity and holiness and for that reason they were called "gods".⁹⁹ Here too, the Sethites are said to resemble angels. This is something that we have already met in the *Chronographers*.¹⁰⁰ In that context we said that this points to the time when the "sons of God" were identified with angels. In this literature the idea is explained in a curious way. It is said that the Sethites were living on the Mountain praising God on the spot where there were once angels who fell with Satan.¹⁰¹ Every generation living on the Mountain had to swear by the blood of Abel not to mix with the Cainites.¹⁰²

The generation of Cain is discussed more fully than that of Seth. Gen. 4 gave rise to stories about the Cainites and Gen. 4, 23 was rendered in the Syriac translation of the Old Testament in

illicitly had intercourse with women, seduced by their beauty. Nothing is said in this context about the Sethites being righteous. According to Schoeps this passage should be understood in the light of the teaching that until the eighth generation people were leading a righteous life. If this is true, *Rec.* I 29 is exceptional, in that it has nothing to say about two generations, one wicked and the other righteous. Quite a different tradition appears in *Hom.* III 25, p. 65, 16-27. According to this tradition Cain's descendants were conspicuous because of their sins, especially compared with other people who might be identified with Sethites. We cannot therefore agree with Schoeps and believe that there was more than one tradition and that it is difficult to say whether one of these traditions spoke about the difference between Cainites and Sethites. See also Dexinger, *op. cit.*, p. 116-118.

⁹⁶ *Cave of Treasures* p. 10, *Kitāb al-Magāll* p. 18, *Book of Adam*, p. 81, and Michael Syrus I III, ed. Chabot p. 4.

⁹⁷ *Book of the Bee* ch. XVIII, p. 27.

⁹⁸ *Cave of Treasures* p. 10, *Book of Adam* p. 82-83, Eutychius 911D and *Kitāb al-Magāll* p. 18.

⁹⁹ *Cave of Treasures*, p. 10, *Book of Adam* p. 83, Eutychius 911D and *Kitāb al-Magāll* p. 18.

¹⁰⁰ p. 65.

¹⁰¹ *Cave of Treasures* p. 10, which refers to Ps. 82, 6 in order to explain the name "sons of God", *Book of Adam* p. 83 and *Kitāb al-Magāll* p. 18.

¹⁰² *Cave of Treasures* p. 10, *Book of Adam* p. 83, Eutychius c. 912C and *Kitāb al-Magāll* p. 19.

the following way ܠܡܥܚ ܕܡܠܚ ܕܡܠܚ ܕܡܠܚ, which would seem to mean that Lamech killed a man by wounds and a boy by blows. It is not easy to decide whether this translation gave rise to the story in the Cave of Treasures about Lamech killing Cain and Tubalcain or whether the text in Genesis was influenced by a similar tradition. Since the Syriac commentators show the influence of Jewish haggadic traditions we shall have to discuss this passage again later. Here we shall simply limit ourselves to the story in the Cave of Treasures.

According to the Cave of Treasures, Lamech was blind. He was in a thick forest in Nod accompanied by Tubalcain or, according to the Book of Adam, by a young shepherd.¹⁰³ Cain was not able to stand still¹⁰⁴ and, since he was moving all the time, Lamech thought that he was an animal and shoot an arrow by which he was fatally hit. According to the Book of Adam, he also threw a stone. When Lamech went to the spot where Cain was lying, he noticed that he had killed him. He put his hands together and in this way he also killed his son. It is evident that the story combines the idea that Lamech killed a man by a wound and a boy with a blow, as in the Peshitto.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ *Cave of Treasures* p. 11-12, *Book of Adam* p. 85, where it is said that Lamech's cattle was stolen, Eutychius 912B, *Book of Adam* p. 85. *Kitāb al-Magāll* p. 20. For Nod as the place where Cain lived, see Gen. 4, 16. M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leiden 1893, p. 70-71, refers to the story in later Jewish literature.

¹⁰⁴ Here Cain himself is trembling. This is in accordance with Gen. 4, 14 (LXX). See *Homélies de Narsai sur la Création*, ed. P. Gignaux, in: *Patrol. Orient.* t. XXXIV, Fasc. 3 et 4, Turnhout 1968, *Hom.* IV 401: "Tu m' (scil. Cain) as revêtu d'agitation et de tremblement, en sort que je fais très peur à ceux qui (me) regardent".

¹⁰⁵ *Cave of Treasures* p. 12: "And Lamech moved his hands to smite them together, and as he did so he smote the youth and killed him also", *Kitāb al-Magāll* p. 20: "Then Lamech the Blind lifted up his hands to give [him] a blow on the ear out of grief for the death of Cain. He hit the head of his son and killed him". *Book of Adam* p. 85: "Und aus Leid darüber schlug Lamech seine Hände zusammen und traf gerade mit seinen beiden Handflächen den Kopf des Kleinen dass dieser wie tot niederstürzte; und Lamech hielt ihn dafür und nahm einen Stein und zerschmetterte ihm den Kopf, dass er starb. . .". See also Eutychius 912B. Cf. Jerome, *Epist.* XXXVI, *Ad Damasus*, in: *Saint Jérôme Lettres* t. II, ed. J. Labourt, Paris 1951, p. 54: . . . *maiorum nostrorum ista sententia est quod fulent in septima generatione a Lamech interfectum Cain*. Michael Glycas: p. 223: ὁ δὲ Γεώργιος οἰκτρῶ θανάτῳ τελευτῆσαι τὸν Κάιν φησὶν. ὁ δὲ ἱερὸς Μεθόδιος Πατάρων φησὶν ὅτι ὁ Λάμεχ φονεύσας τὸν Κάιν κατ' ἀγνοίαν (τυφλὸς γάρ ἦν) θανάτῳ παρέδωκεν,

According to the Cave of Treasures and the other writings, Lamech's sons were responsible for all kind of vices. Jubal invented lyre and flute and Tubalcain was a forger of bronze and iron instruments (Gen. 4, 21-22). They also had a sister Naamah. This was suitable starting point for a number of ideas about their wicked actions. According to the Book of Adam, Jubal and Tubalcain invented the wooden and metal instruments in which devils were living¹⁰⁶ and according to the Book of the Bee, Tubalcain made "anvils, hammers and tongs".¹⁰⁷ According to the Book of Adam, this was made by Genûn, a son of Lamech.¹⁰⁸

Lasciviousness, fornication, drunkenness, dancing and laughter were the result of the music made by the children of Lamech. The Book of Adam explains this drunkenness by the invention of beer. Incest and promiscuity were the results of their inventions.¹⁰⁹

The Sethites were led astray by the inventions of the children of Lamech at the time of Jared. According to the Book of Adam, even Jared himself was deceived by the devil, who insisted that Adam, Abel, Seth, Enosh, Kenan and Mahalalel should appear to him. They seemed to reveal themselves, but when Jared saw that they were simply treacherous phantoms, an angel came to him. The five phantoms disappeared and Jared was able to return to his own place of habitation.¹¹⁰

According to most of these texts only a hundred Sethites began

and p. 229-230: ὁ δὲ Γεώργιος φησὶν ὅτι τοῦ Λάμεχ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Ἐνῶχ ἀδελφεῖ, φονεύσαντος καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν λαβόντος προσήρξατο μετατεθῆναι ὁ δίκαιος, ὥς μηκέτι τοιοῦτον τι θεάσεται. The Armenian *Erzählung von den Söhnen Adams, Abel und Kain*, ed. Preuschen, p. 35-36: "Lamech kam eines Tags auf die Weide und sah Kain in der Ferne in seinem Gewand aus Fellen. Da er ihn nicht erkannte, warf er ihn mit einem Speer. Auf die Bitten von Lamechs gottesfürchtiger Frau (according to Ephrem, see p. 73 his wife was one of the daughters of Seth) heilte Gott aber die Wunde, damit den Lamech die Vergeltung nicht treffe".

¹⁰⁶ *Book of Adam* p. 88-91, see also Ps. Philo, *Antiquit. Bibl.* II 7-9, ed. G. Kisch, p. 114.

¹⁰⁷ *Book of the Bee* ch. XIX, p. 92-93.

¹⁰⁸ *Book of Adam* p. 92-93, see Grünbaum, *op. cit.* p. 72-73.

¹⁰⁹ *Book of Adam* p. 93, see also Eutychius 912D. According to the Armenian *Über das Evangelium von Seth*, ed. Preuschen p. 38, a hundred girls were born for each man and this was the reason why the daughters of the Cainites began to seduce the Sethites. For the Cainites having a greater number of daughters than the Sethites, see Philo, *De Gigantibus* 4-5, cf. also Ephrem referred to on p. 73.

¹¹⁰ *Book of Adam* p. 88-91.

to descend at the time of Jared.¹¹¹ The book of Adam adds that they descended along the western road.¹¹²

When they had visited the Cainites and wished to return they were unable to do so because of fiery stones coming down the mountain.¹¹³

All the Sethites gradually followed this first hundred and descended to the Cainites. Only Methusalah, Lamech and Noah stayed on the Mountain.¹¹⁴ When giants were born as a result of the intercourse of the Sethites and Cainites, Noah went to preach to them. After living in chastity for five hundred years, he was commanded by God to marry.¹¹⁵

All these texts have in common a radical rejection of the idea that angels and Sethites had intercourse with the daughters of men.¹¹⁶ They also reveal a number of characteristics which are peculiar to Syriac authors. These include an emphasis on purity among the Sethites, a rejection of musical instruments as diabolical and the story of Cain's death.

3. Syriac Commentators

Ephrem is the earliest and most important of the Syriac commentators.¹¹⁷ After him later commentators quoted him extensively.

¹¹¹ *Cave of Treasures* p. 15, Eutychius 912D, *Kitāb al-Magāll* p. 22, cf. 1 Enoch 6, 6: 200 angels descended in the days of Jared. Michael Syrus I III, ed. Chabot p. 8, also mentions the figure 200, who chose a king called Semazios, cf. 1 Hen. 6, 3.

¹¹² *Book of Adam* p. 94.

¹¹³ *Cave of Treasures* p. 15-16, *Book of Adam* p. 95, *Kitāb al-Magāll* p. 22, cf. Athenagoras, *Legatio* 25, 1.

¹¹⁴ *Cave of Treasures* p. 17, *Book of Adam* p. 96.

¹¹⁵ *Cave of Treasures* p. 17, *Kitāb al-Magāll* p. 23, *Book of the Bee* ch. XX, p. 30, the Armenian *Über das Evangelium von Seth*, ed. Preuschen p. 39. Aphraates, *Dem.* XIII 5-7, ed. J. Parisot, in: *Patrol. Syriaca* I I, Parisiis 1804, c. 549-556, also contains an interesting passage referring to the seed (ܠܚܝܬ) of Cain and Seth: *cum vidisset (scil. Noah) generationem Seth filiis domus maledictis se commiscuisse, in animam induxit uxorem non accipere . . . ne cum familia Cain, semine maledicto, commiscerentur. . . (549-550) tum, anno quingentesimo duxit Noe uxorem e filiabus Seth, e benedicto iustorum semine . . . (551-552). Eligique cum Spiritus Sanctus, ut Christus, mundi Vivificator, maledictiones Adae sublaturus, ex eius semine nasceretur (555-556).*

¹¹⁶ *Cave of Treasures*, p. 18, Eutychius 913B, *Kitāb al-Magāll* p. 25.

¹¹⁷ See *Sancti Ephraem Syri in Genesim et in Exodum Commentarii interpretatus est* R.-M. Tonneau, in: *Corp. Script. Christ. Orient.* vol. 151, *Script. Syri* 72 (transl.) and vol. 152, *Script. Syri* 71 (Syriac), Louvain 1955, and S. Hidal, *Interpretatio Syriaca. Die Kommentare des Heiligen Ephraem des*

We shall begin with Ephrem and then discuss some of the later authors.

Ephrem certainly made use of Jewish Haggadic material in his exegesis of Gen. 4.¹¹⁸ He quoted Gen. 4, 24 according to the Peshitto version of the Old Testament (this agrees with the Masoretic Text) and discussed the statement of those who said that "seven generations from his (Cain's) tribe died with him". Ephrem doubted whether this was true since it seemed to be impossible for seven generations to die at the same time as Cain and it was certainly not true that the flood took place during the seventh generation. Ephrem himself believed that Cain lived until the seventh generation.¹¹⁹

It is obvious that Ephrem was here appealing to a Haggadic idea about Cain's death. In the first place, the statement agrees with Pseudo-Jonathan Gen. 4, 15 according to which Cain's death was to be avenged throughout seven generations.¹²⁰ These seven generations agree with the number of generations from Cain to Lamech and his children (Gen. 4, 17-22), after whom no other children of Cain are mentioned. It was easy to draw the conclusion that this happened because the flood brought an end not only to Cain's time of divine protection, but also to that of his offspring. For this reason we find that not only Cain died during the flood,¹²¹ but also his generation.¹²²

Syrers zu Genesis und Exodus mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer auslegungsgeschichtlichen Stellung, in: *Coniect. Bibl.*, O.T. Series 6, Lund 1974.

¹¹⁸ See Hidal, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

¹¹⁹ Ephrem, in *Gen. et Ex.* III 9, p. 39-40.

¹²⁰ *Ps. Jonathan Gen.* 4, 15: "And the Lord said unto him: Therefore whosoever slayeth Cain for seven generations it will be exacted from him", cf. 4, 24: "Now Cain who had sinned and turned in repentance had seven generations extended to him . . ." Also in *Genesis Rabbah* XXIII 4, p. 195.

¹²¹ See *Genesis Rabbah* XXII 12, p. 191, and *Test. 12 Patr. Benj.* 7, 3-4, although the text is not quite clear see Th. Korteweg, *Further Observations on the Transmission of the Text*, p. 161-173, in: M. de Jonge, *Studies in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, in: *Studia in V.T. Pseudepigrapha* III, Leiden 1975, p. 169, and M. de Jonge, *The Greek Testaments and the Armenian Version*, in: *idem* p. 120-139, p. 129.

¹²² See Josephus, *Antiquit.* I 58: ἐπάρατον δ' αὐτὸν ἐτίθει καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ τιμωρήσεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἑβδόμην ἡμερίαν γενεάν, . . . cf. Rappaport, *op. cit.*, 6 and 85. See also *Genesis Rabbah* XXIV 6, p. 203-204, referred to on p. 8. Cf. V. Aptowitzer, *Kain und Abel in der Agada . . .*, in: *Veröffentl. der Alex. Kohut Memorial Found.* Band I, Wien and Leipzig 1922, esp. 70ff, and G. Vermes, *The Targumic Version of Genesis IV* 3-16, in: *Annual of Leeds Univ. Or. Ser.* III 1961-1962, p. 81-114, esp. 104-105.

Ephrem also states that Cain noticed that intermarriage with the generation of the Sethites was impossible and that he went to the land of Nod which had been known by this name since Cain was in fear and trembling.¹²³

Ephrem then discusses various stories concerning Lamech. According to Ephrem, Lamech married the daughters of Seth, who asked him to live righteously. Lamech answered them with the words of Gen. 4, 24, saying that when Cain killed Abel he was revenged seven times, but when he killed a man and a boy he would be avenged seventy-seven times.¹²⁴ Here Ephrem was following the Syriac text, which, as we have already said, agrees with the original Hebrew text of Gen. 4, 24.

Various other stories about Lamech were told by Ephrem. According to some, Lamech was impious and only daughters were born to him. We have already encountered this idea,¹²⁵ but here Gen. 6, 1 is used as evidence. This is, of course, the text in which it is said that men began to multiply on earth and that daughters were born to them.¹²⁶ Since Lamech's wives were afraid that his generation would vanish after Cain's seventh generation, Lamech deceived his wives by telling them that God had waited for seven generations before punishing Cain and that it would take seventy-seven generations before the punishment of the one who had killed two people. This tradition is also met in *Genesis Rabbah*.¹²⁷

According to another story, Lamech killed Cain and his son who was like him, because he wanted to revenge himself on him because his land did not yield enough crops and his generation was in danger of vanishing from the earth. After this he commanded his wives to ask their daughters to seduce the Sethites who did not

¹²³ Ephrem, in *Gen. et Ex.* III 11, p. 41. Also in *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de Paradiso und Contra Julianum* I, 11, ed. E. Beck, in: *Corp. Script. Christ. Orient.* 174 (Syriac) and 175 (Transl.), Louvain 1957, p. 3.

¹²⁴ Ephrem, in *Gen. et Ex.* IV 2, p. 41.

¹²⁵ p. 70.

¹²⁶ Ephrem, in *Gen. et Ex.* IV 2, p. 41-42.

¹²⁷ *Genesis Rabbah* XXIII 4, p. 195: "R. Jose b. R. Hanina said: He summoned them (scil. his wives) to their marital duties. Said they to him: 'To-morrow a flood will come - are we to bear children for a curse?' He answered '... Cain slew, yet judgement was suspended for him for seven generations; for me, who did not slay surely judgement will wait seventy-seven generations'." This is based upon the same idea as met in *P's. Jonathan Gen.* 4, 23-24: "And Lamech said unto his wives ... for I have not slain a man that we should be killed on his account, nor have I injured a young man ..."

wish to marry them for seven generations. Jabel seduced them by carnal lusts, Jubal with sweet songs and lyres. The Sethites forgot the promise they had given and descended from the high place where they had been living.¹²⁸

This is, of course, the story of Lamech's having killed Cain, but unlike the account in the Cave of Treasures and similar texts the killing did not take place accidentally but intentionally. Ephrem's story is very interesting since Lamech's intentional killing of Cain is found elsewhere only in rather late Jewish writings, whereas the other version of the story occurs in earlier sources.¹²⁹

In connection with the Sethites, Ephrem says that Seth himself was like the son of God. The Sethites were called by the name of the Lord, being a righteous people, but he quotes the Syriac text of Gen. 4, 26, which is in agreement with the Masoretic text: "Then (*scil.* at the time of Enosh) men began to call upon the name of the Lord".¹³⁰

It is obvious that Ephrem was also familiar with a number of traditions concerning Gen. 6. The first verse of this chapter is quoted in this way: "And the sons of the gods saw that the daughters of men were beautiful..."¹³¹ Ephrem adds that this refers to the Sethites and the Cainites. In other writings he strongly rejects the idea—especially, he claimed, favoured by the Manichaeans¹³²—that Gen. 6 speaks about angels. According to Ephrem, the Cainites were lustful and therefore tried to beautify themselves and were poor and were therefore tempted by riches.¹³³

¹²⁸ Ephrem, in *Gen. et in Ex.* IV 3, p. 42.

¹²⁹ See Aptowitzer, *op. cit.* 59-68. Jerome, *Ep. XXXVI, ad Damasum*, quoted on p. 69 follows the idea of an unintentional killing by adding *non sponte, ut in quodam Hebraico volumine scribitur, interfecit Cain*, but cf. Procopius of Gaza, *Comment. in Gen.*, in: *MPG* 87 I, c. 256D-257A.

¹³⁰ Ephrem, in *Gen. et Ex.* V 1, p. 43. For the relation between Seth and Christ, see also Ephrem, *c. Haer.* 5, 12, p. 22: "Sic (*scil.* Adam and Seth) waren gehüllt in die Symbole unseres Herrn und seines Erzeugers", and A. Levene, *The Early Syrian Fathers...*, p. 80: "...so not in him alone did He limit the likeness of the divine image, but also in those who were descended from him until He brought it to its fulness in our Lord Christ."

¹³¹ Ephrem's quotation agrees with the reading of the Peshitto Version of the Old Testament.

¹³² Ephrem, *c. Haer.* 7, 2, p. 30 and 19, 4-5, p. 66, and *Des Heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de Fide* 46, 8, ed. E. Beck, in: *Corp. Script. Christ. Orient.* 154 (Syriac) and 155 (transl.) Louvain 1955 and 1967, p. 124, see also Jerome, *Tract. de Psalmo LXXXII*, ed. G. Morin, *S. Hieronymi Presb. Opera*, in: *Corp. Christ. Ser. Lat.* LXXVIII, Turnholti 1958, p. 281.

¹³³ Ephrem, in *Gen. et in Ex.* IV 3, p. 44.

Quoting Gen. 5, 5, he says that the giants were born, since the "judges" had intercourse with the daughters of men. It is striking that he uses the word "judges" here. This shows the influence of Jewish rabbinical influence.¹³⁴ These giants were born from the weak generation of Cain. The Cainites lived in a cursed land because of bad food and they were without strength. The sons of Seth, on the other hand, lived in a blessed country near paradise. This meant that the giants were even smaller than the Sethites.¹³⁵

Theodore bar Konî did not add much to what had already been said by Ephrem. He wrote that Seth began to call upon the name of the Lord (Gen. 4, 26), since he had separated himself from the Cainites. The Sethites were therefore called "sons of God", that is, "inmates of God".¹³⁶ The same idea has been encountered among authors writing in Greek.¹³⁷ The idea that Gen. 6 speaks about angels is also rejected. The giants were also according to this commentary, gigantic in sins and impiety.¹³⁸

The commentary of Išo'dad of Merv is more important than Theodore bar Konî's. Išo'dad also relied to a great extent on his predecessors.¹³⁹ Commenting on Gen. 4, 20-22, he says that Jubal invented the art of making tents and possessed cattle. Tubalcain was an expert in working with bronze and iron. His sister Naamah taught the art of singing to women¹⁴⁰ and Jubal taught it to men. Tubalcain made ornaments for women. These three children of Lamech corrupted the Sethites. Jabel left the place where he lived and put up his tent among the Sethites. He corrupted them not only by fornication but also by making them meat to eat. Jubal seduced the Sethites by playing the lyre and Tubalcain seduced them by ornaments.¹⁴¹

¹³⁴ The word "judges" is used here by R. Simeon b. Yohai in *Genesis Rabbah* XXVI 5, p. 213, cf. Exod. 22, 8. See Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 65-66.

¹³⁵ Ephrem, in *Gen. et in Ex.* VI 5, p. 45, cf. Josephus, *Antiquit.* I 105.

¹³⁶ Theodorus bar Konî, *Liber Scholiorum (Textum Syriacum)*, ed. A. Scher, 2 partes, in: *Corp. Script. Christ. Orient.* 55 et 69. Parisiis 1910 et 1912, I, p. 98.

¹³⁷ See p. 64.

¹³⁸ ed. Scher p. 101-102, see also Levene, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

¹³⁹ *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament* I. *Genèse*, ed. C. van den Eynde, in: *Corp. Script. Christ. Orient.* 156, Louvain 1955 (transl.) and J.-M. Vosté et C. van den Eynde, in: *Corp. Script. Christ. Orient.* 126, Louvain 1950 (Syriac). Išo'dad often quotes Henanah, who flourished in the sixth or seventh century and in turn relied upon Ephrem.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. *Ps. Jonathan Gen.* 4, 22: "... Naamah; she was supreme in laments and songs". Also in *Genesis Rabbah* XXIII 3, p. 194.

¹⁴¹ ed. Van den Eynde p. 112.

Commenting on Gen. 4, 23-24, Išo'dad says that Lamech committed a murder, but that it is not explicitly said that he killed Cain. He also denies that Lamech killed both "a man and a young man", on the basis that the phrase was a Hebraism.¹⁴² Quoting another Syriac commentator, Henanah, Išo'dad comments that, according to him, Lamech killed Cain and his son in order to efface the defamation suffered by the Cainites. This is again in agreement with Ephrem. Išo'dad is also in agreement with Ephrem in his statement that the land of Nod was sterile, with the result that the Cainites were small, whereas the Sethites were tall and beautiful. The Cainites adorned their wives and led the Sethites astray with their music. Išo'dad also refers to the story which is also found in the Cave of Treasures and similar literature, namely that Lamech killed Cain in a forest.¹⁴³

The author's exegesis of Gen. 4, 26 is reminiscent of Ephrem's. He was clearly familiar with the reading in the Greek translation of the Old Testament,¹⁴⁴ but he followed the reading according to which Seth began to call upon the name of God. In this context, he says that they were called sons of God, that is, "inmates of God", which of course agrees with Theodore bar Koni.¹⁴⁵

After rejecting the idea that Gen. 6 speaks about angels, Išo'dad comments that the giants were gigantic in iniquity and impiety, which again agrees with Theodore bar Koni.¹⁴⁶

For the rest, Išo'dad is very reticent about the events dealt with in Gen 6. Referring to Henanah, we again meet ideas already encountered in Ephrem, for example that the Sethites were seduced by the songs and ornaments of Tubalcain, that the Sethites were giants, but the Cainites small and most of them girls and that intercourse between them resulted in giants like Seth and Enosh. Išo'dad compares them with the Greek heroes.¹⁴⁷

The Syriac commentators, then, provide an exegesis which is in many ways original compared with that found in the Cave of

¹⁴² ed. Van den Eynde p. 112-113.

¹⁴³ ed. Van den Eynde p. 113, see also p. 69.

¹⁴⁴ ed. Van den Eynde p. 115: "Le Grec: celui-ci espéra". The Greek reading is also found in Ishō bar Nūn, *The Selected Questions on the Pentateuch*, ed. E. G. Clarke, Leiden 1962, p. 27 and p. 110.

¹⁴⁵ ed. Van den Eynde p. 115.

¹⁴⁶ ed. Van den Eynde p. 120.

¹⁴⁷ ed. Van den Eynde p. 120-121. It is striking that the giants were compared with the heroes, since this idea was rejected elsewhere, see p. 66.

Treasures and related literature, although all these writings originated in an environment in which Syriac was spoken. This applies above all to Ephrem, who reveals a considerable knowledge of the rabbinical traditions. It is interesting to note that the idea that Lamech wanted intermarriage with the Sethites and therefore killed Cain is especially emphasized by Ephrem, who also points to the importance of the inventions of Lamech's children. The jealousy between the Cainites and the Sethites is explained by a difference in strength caused by a difference of the places where they lived.

c. *Seth in Christian Literature*

Ideas about Seth in Christian literature were influenced by Josephus, the *Vita Adae et Evae*, Jubilees, I Enoch and the rabbinical literature. This influence of rabbinical writings was mainly limited to authors writing in Syriac. The only authentic contribution which is of any importance is the identification of the "sons of God" (Gen. 6) with the Sethites.

The Byzantine chronographers, who had to rely upon the Book of Genesis, Josephus and Jubilees in their description of the origin of the world, are an important source of our knowledge about Seth in Christian literature. To these sources also belong the Cave of Treasures and related literature which writing about the mysterious beginning of mankind, had to rely upon writings like the *Vita Adae et Evae*. Syriac commentators, especially Ephrem, obviously used Jewish exegetical material which contributed to a number of other stories about Seth.

Both the chronographers and the Cave of Treasures discuss the question of Seth's brothers and sisters. Since the chronographers were following Jubilees, they spoke about the individual births of Adam's children. Simultaneous births are recorded in the Cave of Treasures which is in agreement here with the rabbinical literature. In general Christian authors were rather reticent to speak about Seth's marriage since it seemed to contradict his generally accepted purity.

Among Seth's virtues, his righteousness and piety were especially emphasized. The influence of Josephus can be detected here. He gave a favourable picture of the Sethites. It is striking that he was more or less the only Jewish author who stressed Seth's virtues,

although this can be explained by a lack of information about Seth and his generation in Gen. 5, 1-22, which gives no more than a genealogy of Sethites. In Greek literature, Gen. 4, 26 was seen as an indication that the Sethites separated from the Cainites at an early date since the text states that Seth's son Enosh began to call upon the name of the Lord. This must be accepted as authentically Christian, since Gen. 4, 26 was given quite a different explanation in Jewish literature.

There is a great deal in the Jewish *Vita Adae et Evae* about Adam's death and burial. Seth is mentioned again and again in this context. In Christian literature, especially in the Cave of Treasures, this theme is touched on but not very much developed. The ideas about Seth's knowledge of the heavenly bodies and his writing are clearly more important. His astrological knowledge was previously mentioned by Josephus, although the latter ascribed it to the Sethites in general. Seth himself became increasingly regarded as the inventor of astrology and the art of writing. This betrays the influence of stories about Enoch. Both his astrological knowledge and the information given to him by Adam and Eve were thought to have been written on pillars, at least according to Josephus and the *Vita Adae et Evae*. This was taken over by Christian authors, but hardly developed in any way. We may therefore conclude that, in general, Christian authors were not very interested in Seth's revelation, although they sometimes discussed books written by Seth which contained information about the coming of Christ. This information was, however, intended only for the Magi.

In the case of the books said to be written by Seth a number of traditions have clearly been confused. They were originally believed to contain Adam's Testament. This obviously formed a link with Adam's death and burial. Originally, as we have seen, the Testament was kept in a cave together with spices brought by Adam from paradise. Both the Testament and the spices were reminders of the life in paradise. A different meaning was given to the cave as soon as the idea that Adam was also buried there took root. When Adam's burial in the centre of the earth or on Golgotha became accepted by Christians, it is clear that it was also necessary to accept the need to remove his body and the idea that the spices had to stay in the east for them to be discovered by the Magi. These various traditions with conflicting contents inevitably meant that the stories were not always clear, even though the underlying ideas were usually still recognizable.

Christians generally thought that Gen. 6 referred to the intercourse between the Sethites and the Cainites. The origin of this idea must be sought in a Semitic speaking environment. It was introduced into the Greek-speaking world by Julius Africanus. It is not quite clear whether Julius Africanus learnt about this explanation from Jewish or from Christian sources. It is hardly possible for it to have originated among the Jews, since it is mentioned in Jewish sources of a very late date only. Starting on the basis of the intercourse of the Sethites and the Cainites, numerous details were added from sources which originally revealed a different explanation of Gen. 6. The book of Enoch was an especially rich source of information, although this book refers only to the fall of the angels. The influence of Jubilees is obvious as soon as the theme of the difficulties that began with Jared is introduced. The authors writing in Syriac regarded Lamech as the cause of the fall of the Sethites. The rabbinical influence is obvious here.

We may conclude with a number of general observations. We have seen that Jewish writers had an enormous influence on Christian authors. Authors writing in Greek were acquainted with the pseudepigraphical literature and there was a good knowledge in the Syriac world of the exegetical work of the rabbis. We have, however, also seen that information taken from Jewish sources only tried to satisfy the curiosity of the readers and can be considered as historical or quasi-historical information. Attempts were also made to discover fresh information about the beginning of mankind and the origin of the science of astrology and the art of writing. Nobody expected to receive divine revelations from books which were supposedly written by Seth. Only the Magi were in need of some information with regard to the birth of Jesus. Nobody was interested in the generation of Seth as a line of special importance. On the contrary, it was stressed that the Sethites were extremely depraved. It is obvious, then, that, according to Christian authors, Christ and not Seth was the only source of information about God. Christ too was able to save mankind which originated from Seth, but had also left the place where he and his generation lived and became mixed with the Cainites.

This means that many important Jewish ideas were not accepted by Christian authors. This applies especially to the idea of a generation of Seth which can be followed from the earliest days to the present time and which consists both of the righteous and of the

wicked. This idea was alien to Christians, although as we shall see, it was accepted in gnostic circles. If Christians did not speak about a righteous and a wicked generation, this has nothing to do with anti-gnostic polemics, but with basic Christian theological teaching.

We may therefore conclude in general by saying that Christians took over many Jewish ideas about Seth. This was done principally only by those who tried at a rather late date to write about the history of mankind and those were interested in legendary stories such as those found in the Cave of Treasures. Their work does not show much creativity, but does reveal a genuine attempt to combine frequently conflicting traditions to form more or less satisfactory stories.

Finally, we can say that it is hardly possible to envisage the lack of data about Seth in Jewish writings as a reaction on a possible Seth cult among Christians. If we have to speak about a reaction, it was one upon certain ideas living among Jews, like Philo, themselves.

CHAPTER FIVE

SETH IN GNOSTIC LITERATURE

Long before the discoveries of the gnostic texts at Nag Hammadi the significance of Seth in gnostic circles was known.¹ But after the publication of summaries of the various treatises and of several of the volumes themselves there was an even greater awareness of the importance attached to Seth.² The name "Sethians" was even given to the gnostics responsible for a number of these writings.³ This name had already been used by Christian anti-heretical authors.

In this chapter we shall go into the subject of Seth in gnostic literature. The chapter is divided into three main parts. In the first we shall deal with the Sethians and *Archontici*, according to Christian sources. In the second part those Nag Hammadi texts in which the name of Seth is mentioned will be discussed. Finally, in the third section, we shall say something about Mandaean sources and various occasional passages in other writings.

A number of questions must be answered, for example, can we really speak of a particular gnostic sect which called itself "Sethian",

¹ See C. Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften in koptischer Sprache aus dem Codex Brucianus*, in: *Texte und Unters.* VIII, Leipzig 1892, esp. p. 593-596; W. Wünsch, *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom*, Leipzig 1898; W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen 1907, p. 396 s.v. *Sethianer*, and H.-C. Puech, *Fragments retrouvés de L'Apocalypse d'Allogène*, in: *Mélanges Franz Cumont* II, Bruxelles 1936, p. 937-962.

² See J. Doresse, *Nouveaux Aperçus Historiques sur les Gnostiques Coptes: Ophites et Séthiens*, in: *Bull. de l'Inst. d'Égypte* t. XXX, Session 1947-1948, Le Caire 1949, p. 409-419; H.-C. Puech, *Les Nouveaux Écrits Gnostiques Découverts en Haute-Égypte*, in: *Coptic Studies in Honour of Walter Ewing Crum*, Boston 1950, p. 91-154: "Dans l'ensemble, et au point où en est la recherche, la bibliothèque découverte à Nag-Hammadi paraît avoir appartenue à une secte plus ou moins éclectique, mais qui au premier chef peut et doit être appelée 'Séthienne'"; J. Doresse, *Les Livres secrets des Gnostiques d'Égypte*, Paris 1958, esp. 281-352; H. Jonas, *Gnosis und Spätantiker Geist* I, Göttingen 1964, esp. p. 378-381; F. Wisse, *The Sethians and the Nag Hammadi Library*, in: *Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Proceedings* 2 1972, p. 601-607, and H.-M. Schenke, *Das Sethianische System nach Nag-Hammadi Handschriften*, in: *Studia Coptica*, herausgegeben von P. Nagel, Berlin 1974, p. 165-173.

³ In the present work the members of the sect are called "Sethians" and the generation of Sethi "Sethites".

is it possible to speak of a pre-Christian sect whose members honoured Seth to such an extent that they named themselves after him; are we dealing with one group of ideas related to Seth in Gnostic writings or with a number of more or less isolated themes; if a Jewish influence is to be assumed, is it possible to define its background, and what is in accordance with and what is different from the Christian ideas about Seth?

Most of these questions have been touched on in various other studies, but non in a very systematic way.

a. *The Sethians and Related Groups*

Pseudo-Tertullian provides us with the earliest known description of the sect known as the *Sethoïtae*, who are mentioned after the Ophites and the Cainites.⁴

It is obvious that the author possessed a minimum of information about this sect. He begins by saying: *sed ille haeresis processit, quae dicitur Sethoitarum*, which shows that he did not intend to write about the relationship between this sect and the previously mentioned Cainites. He then goes on to give the following description of their ideas.

Two men were created by two different groups of angels, Cain and Abel. These angels were at odds with each other. Not a word is said about the creation of Adam and Eve. The word *constituere* used to describe Cain's and Abel's coming into existence shows that they were really the first creatures, and that they were not born from human parents.

As in the biblical story, Abel is killed. Then, *ob hanc causam illam virtutem, quae super omnes virtutes esset, quam mater pronuntiant*, she wanted *loco Abelis*, Seth to be conceived and born (*concupi et nasci*). This means that Seth replaced Abel but it is not clear by whom he was to be conceived and born.

The reason for the birth of this *semen mundum* was *ut evacuarentur* the angels who created (*condidissent*) the two men, Cain and Abel. This means that the lower forces, being angels, were thwarted by the Mother who brought her creation, Seth, into the world.

The writer continues: *permixtiones . . . angelorum et hominum* took place and because of this the Mother caused the flood. She

⁴ Pseudo-Tertullian, *Adversus omnes Haereses* 2, ed. A. Kroyman, in: *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.* 47, Vindobonae-Lipsiae 1906, p. 218.

hoped to destroy *illud permixtionis semen* and to save the *semen quod esset purum*.

It is not clear what is meant in this passage. From the earlier statement it is clear that the writer was speaking about two generations, that is, those of Cain and Seth, who had taken the place of Abel. Here, however, he speaks about the intermingling of angels and men. Their offspring were to be destroyed in the flood. But who were these men? If they were only the Cainites, we can understand that they had to be destroyed by the flood, but not in such a way as to save the *semen, quod esset purum*. If both the Cainites and the Sethites intermingled with the angels, it is even more difficult to understand which is this *semen purum*.

Next the author writes that Ham was put into the ark by the angels to make sure that the *semen malitiae* would not perish. This *semen* was to fill and occupy the whole earth. But this too is not clear. Does the author mean by this that nothing was left of the *semen purum*?

Finally we read that Christ is *tantummodo Seth*.⁵

We are bound to conclude that Pseudo-Tertullian does not give any clear picture of the Sethians. A few ideas do, however, emerge clearly. Cain and Abel are contrasted with Seth. The first two were created by the angels, whereas Seth was created by the Mother. There was also a continuous struggle between the angels and the Mother. Every move made by the angels was followed by one by the Mother and *vice versa*. Seth is the Mother's reply to the creation of Cain and Abel and the murder of Abel. The angel's response to the flood caused by the Mother was to put Ham into the ark. We may say that the Mother's final answer to a world filled with *semen malitiae* was the coming of Christ, who is Seth.

What is striking is that nothing is said about the nature or the origin of the Sethians. We may assume that they believed that they were a pure generation which overcame the assaults of the Cainites until the Cainites disappeared from the earth. This process would culminate in the coming of Seth in the person of Jesus.

Epiphanius was obviously dependent on Pseudo-Tertullian, although he claimed that he had "perhaps" met the Sethians in

⁵ This idea is also known in an isolated form, cf. M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte Koptische Zaubertexte III: Einleitung in Koptische Zaubertexte*, Bruxelles 1930 p. 9 "Ich beschwöre dich bei deinem eingeborenen Sohn, dessen wahrer Name ist: Seth, Seth der Lebendige Christus"; see also p. 64.

Egypt and knew of some Sethian writings.⁶ In this context, Epiphanius states that seven books were known ἐξ ὀνόματος μὲν Σήθ. He goes on to mention "other books", one with the name Ἀλλογενεῖς, a book ἐξ ὀνόματος Ἀβραάμ, apparently a revelation, and finally a book ἐξ ὀνόματος τοῦ Μωυσέως and others written by various authors.⁷ In spite of this long list, we doubt whether Epiphanius used any of them to write his chapter about the Sethians.

Epiphanius also declares that the Sethians were found everywhere but that they did not exist before the Cainites. They flourished for some time but most of them disappeared.⁸ This does not add anything to the knowledge that we already possess from Pseudo-Tertullian.

Summarizing their doctrine, Epiphanius claims that the Sethians derived their generation from Seth. This is an improvement on what Pseudo-Tertullian tells us, since the latter had nothing to say about the members of the Sethian sect. Seth was assumed to be the Christ.⁹ Later he gives a more detailed outline of the relationship between Seth and Christ and declares that Christ is of Seth's generation: ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Σήθ κατὰ σπέρμα καὶ κατὰ διαδοχὴν γένους ὁ Χριστὸς ἦλθεν αὐτὸς Ἰησοῦς.¹⁰

After these general comments, Epiphanius goes on to say that, "In agreement with the first heresy of the Cainites in this respect", the Sethians claimed that "two people" (δύο ἀνθρώπους) came into being (γενεῖσθαι) in the beginning and that Cain and Abel came from those two. It was about Cain and Abel that angels disagreed.¹¹

⁶ Epiphanius, *Panarion Haer.* 39 1 2, ed. K. Holl, in: *Gr. Christl. Schriftst.*, Epiphanius II, Leipzig 1922, p. 72.

⁷ Epiphanius 39 5 1, p. 75. With reference to the *Gnostici* Epiphanius mentions books in Seth's name which were known to others by the name of "Revelations of Adam" (26 8 1, Kroll I, p. 284). Puech, *Fragments retrouvés*. . . assumed that a passage was quoted by Theodore bar Koni, Bar Hebraeus and Agapius from the "Book of Allogenes" as follows: "God said to Eve: 'Be pregnant from me so that the creators do not approach you'. The "Powers", on the other hand wished to have their seed cast into Eve so that the one who was to be born from her would serve them. This is not in accordance with Epiphanius, who obviously wished to say that Cain and Abel were children of both Adam and Eve, cf. 39 2 1: καὶ ἐκ τῶν δύο εἶναι τὸν Κάιν καὶ τὸν Ἀβελ. and who explicitly stated that Seth had come into the world, sent by the "Mother".

⁸ Epiphanius 39 1 1, p. 71-72.

⁹ Epiphanius 39 1 3, p. 72.

¹⁰ Epiphanius 39 3 5, p. 74.

¹¹ Epiphanius 39 2 1, p. 72.

Here Epiphanius adds two facts to the information given by Pseudo-Tertullian. In the first place, he says that the Sethians agreed with the Cainites and, in the second place, he speaks about "two people", obviously Adam and Eve who existed before Cain and Abel.

The first idea was taken from Pseudo-Tertullian, who wrote that the Cainites believed that Cain was conceived *ex quadam potenti virtute* and Abel *ex inferiore virtute* and that they were standing opposed to each other.¹² Pseudo-Tertullian had nothing to say, as we have already seen, either in the passage about the Cainites nor in the text about the Sethians, about those who lived before Cain and Abel. As we have already noted, however, this author regarded Seth as "conceived" and, in the passage about the Cainites, he said that both Cain and Abel were conceived. It is clear, then that Epiphanius concluded that people existed before Cain and Abel. The superficial way in which he speaks about Adam and Eve, not even mentioning their names and saying, in the passage about the Cainites, that they were created by "similar forces" ¹³ and, in the context of the Sethians, that "in the beginning two people came into being" shows that Epiphanius himself was responsible for this information.

Epiphanius does not say anything about the character of the angels standing behind Cain and Abel, but they were obviously thought to be evil forces.

After the death of Cain, Seth was born. Epiphanius omits the words *loco Abelis*, which is an improvement, since Seth was of a totally different origin.

With regard to the Mother, he says that according to the Sethians: δοκεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ μητέρας ἄνω καὶ θηλείας καὶ ἄρρενας, ὀλίγοι δὲ δεῖ καὶ συγγενείας καὶ πατριαρχίας λεγεῖν.¹⁴ Here we may accept the influence of sources known to Epiphanius. According to these sources the heavenly world shows a complicated entity of male and female forces. These are also to be found in a number of original gnostic writings in which Seth plays an important part.

With regard to Seth, ἐν αὐτῷ σπέρμα τῆς ἄνωθεν δυνάμεως καὶ τὸν σπινθῆρα τὸν ἄνωθεν πεμφθέντα εἰς πρώτην καταβολὴν τοῦ σπέρματος καὶ συστάσεως. This passage contains a number of thoroughly

¹² Pseudo-Tertullian, ed. Kroyman, p. 217, cf. Epiphanius 38 2 6.

¹³ Epiphanius 38 2 7, p. 73.

¹⁴ Epiphanius 39 2 3, p. 72.

gnostic expressions which, however, were very appropriately applied to Seth as "another seed" (Gen. 4, 25).¹⁵ Seth was well instructed since he had to destroy the generation of the angels who had created the world and the two men who were in the beginning.¹⁶ This again shows a close agreement with Pseudo-Tertullian, since Epiphanius here mentions only the angels and Cain and Abel and not Adam and Eve.

In the following passage, the influence of Pseudo-Tertullian is again clear. We have observed how he referred to intercourse between the angels and men without making it clear who these men were. Epiphanius makes it easier to understand by saying that an intermingling first took place between the generations of Cain and Abel.¹⁷ He goes on to say that the Mother saw πολλήν ἐπιμιξίαν καὶ ἄτακτον ὁρμὴν τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, εἰς μίξιν τῶν δύο γενῶν ἐλθόντων, after which she decided to cause the flood so that only the generation of Seth would be left on earth.¹⁸ He refers here to two cases of "intermingling", one between the generations of Cain and Abel and the other between the angels and men, as in Pseudo-Tertullian, but it is clear that these were the offspring of the creation of the evil angels.

The angels decided to bring Ham into the ark εἰς διατήρησιν τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτῶν κτισθέντος γένους. This caused a continuation of evil on earth.¹⁹

Epiphanius also tells us that it was from Seth that κατὰ σπέρμα καὶ κατὰ διαδοχὴν γένους ὁ Χριστὸς ἦλθεν αὐτὸς Ἰησοῦς οὐχὶ κατὰ γέννησιν ἀλλὰ θυμωστικῶς ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ πεφηνώς, ὅς ἐστιν αὐτὸς ὁ Σῆθ ὁ τότε καὶ [Χριστὸς] νῦν ἐπιφουιτήσας τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀπὸ τῆς Μητρὸς ἄνωθεν ἀπεσταλμένος.²⁰ This again shows the influence of Pseudo-Tertullian.

Finally Epiphanius writes about the Sethian books mentioned above and the "stupidity" of the Sethians saying that Seth was married to a wife called Oraia.²¹

¹⁵ Epiphanius 39 2 4, p. 73, cf. *Excerpta e Theodoto* 1, 3, ed. F. Sagnard, in: *Sources Chrét.*, Paris 1948, p. 54: Τὸ ἐκλεκτὸν σπέρμα φαρμέν καὶ "σπινθήρα" ζωοποιούμενον, see also H. Jonas, *Gnosis*, . . ., p. 211.

¹⁶ Epiphanius 39 2 5, p. 73.

¹⁷ Epiphanius 39 2 7, p. 73.

¹⁸ Epiphanius 39 3 1, p. 73-74.

¹⁹ Epiphanius 39 3 2, p. 74.

²⁰ Epiphanius 39 3 5, p. 74.

²¹ Epiphanius 39 5 3. He uses the word Ὠραία. For the spelling of this name and the possible derivation, see R. A. Bullard, *The Hypostasis of the*

Epiphanius does not, then, add much to the information given by Pseudo-Tertullian. He tries to clarify some obscurities and he adds some fairly obvious comments taken from the knowledge of gnostic ideas such as those concerning the Mother. He clearly retains the general idea about the Sethians, namely that the earth was the scene of a continuous struggle between the lower forces who created Cain and Abel and who made use of Ham on the one hand and the Mother who created Seth and sent Jesus on the other. The flood plays a prominent part in the struggle, because it was by means of the flood that the Mother tried to destroy the generations of Cain and Abel. The immediate cause of the flood was said to be an intermingling of the angels and men but it is not clear who these men were and how the Sethites were threatened by this event.

A number of comments on the Sethites made by other writers

Archons, Berlin 1970, p. 95-98. According to Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I 30 9, the Ophites claimed *secundum providentiam Prunici*, that Seth was born and *post Noëam, ex quibus reliquam multitudinem hominum generatam dicunt*. This passage may be Epiphanius' source. In this passage, Oraia seems to be a daughter of Eve, which agrees with the *Hypostasis of the Archons* 139, 34-140, 1. In this work, she is also called a help for generations (141, 1). Later she came into conflict with Noah who wanted her to go into the ark, which she set on fire. According to this passage, Noah belonged to the "Ruler of the Forces" against whom the Archons took counsel with each other. Orea or Norea, as she is called here, was also taught by Eleleth. Referring to the *Gnostici*, Epiphanius clearly knew of a relationship between Oraia and Noah (26 1 4ff, ed. Kroll I, p. 275-276). According to this passage, she was married to Noah. But here too, she refused to go into the ark and burnt it three times. In agreement with the *Hypostasis*, Oraia belonged to the higher world and revealed *τὰς ἀνω δυνάμεις καὶ τὴν ἀνὸ τῶν δυνάμεων βαβηλῶν* . . . but Noah on the other hand was to obey *τῷ ἄρχοντι*. In this passage Epiphanius also stated that the *Gnostici* possessed a Book of Noria. This book is also mentioned in the *Die Koptisch-Gnostische Schrift ohne Titel aus Codex II von Nag-Hammadi*, herausgeg. A. Böhlig und P. Labib, in: *Deutsche Akademie der Wissensch. zu Berlin, Inst. für Orientalforschung*, Nr. 58, Berlin 1962 (quoted as "Untitled Work"), p. 150, 2-25. The idea that Noria, here called Nhūraitā, was married to Noah is also found in the Mandæan *Ginzā. Der Schatz oder das Grosse Buch der Mandäer*, übersetzt und erklärt von M. Lidzbarski, Göttingen-Leipzig 1925, 45, 42; 46, 1f and 470, 6ff. According to the *Ginzā* 211, 36ff, Nhūraitā was married to Dīnanūkt. In the passage mentioned above (39 5 3), Epiphanius also claimed that Oraia was also known as a *δύναμις*. This seems to agree with Origen, *c. Cels.* VI 31 39ff and the *Untitled Work* 149, 33-34, in which she is included among the *archons*. All this shows that she appears to have been a representative of the higher world and that she was found above all in company of Noah, whose equal she does not seem to have been, and Seth with whom she shared her high position.

are derived from Epiphanius. Filaster's description²² is entirely dependent on Epiphanius. Filaster influenced Isidore of Seville,²³ Paulus²⁴ and Honorius Augustodunensis.²⁵ The *Anacephalaiosis* which is added to the text of Epiphanius, is also dependent on Epiphanius.²⁶ According to this text, after the death of Abel, the heavenly Mother and Father came together again to create the pure "seed", Seth. This was taken over by John Damascene,²⁷ who in turn influenced Joseppus.²⁸ Augustine also made use of the *Anacephalaiosis*, giving his own interpretation of the text. Seth was, in his opinion, born from the Father and the Mother and the "seed" that originated from them were "sons of God". Here we meet the influence of the idea that was so wide-spread among Christians, namely that the "sons of God" are identified with the Sethites. It must have come about as the result of a misunderstanding on the part of Augustine, when he stated, that, according to the Sethians, Shem the son of Noah was Christ.²⁹ Praedestinatus was also dependent on Augustine and added that the Sethians originated in *partibus Achaiae* and that Perigenes Argus wrote against them.³⁰ Finally Pseudo-Jerome was also dependent on Epiphanius, although he deviated in saying that the Mother was called *Trivirtus*.³¹

This summary, then, shows that none of the authors added fresh information to what we already know from the writings of Pseudo-Tertullian and Epiphanius.

²² Filaster, *Div. Her. Lib.* III, ed. F. Marx, in: *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.* 38, Pragae-Vindobonae-Lipsiae 1898, p. 2-3.

²³ Isidore of Seville, *De Haer.* VI 16, ed. F. Oehler, in: *Corp. Haer.* I, *Script. Haer. Min. Lat.*, Berolini 1856, p. 304, and *Etymologiarum Lib.* VIII V 16, ed. W. M. Lindsay I, Oxonii 1911.

²⁴ Paulus, *De Haer. Libellus* XIV, ed. Oehler I, p. 315.

²⁵ Honorius Augustodunensis, *De Haer. Lib.* XXXI, ed. Oehler I, p. 305.

²⁶ *Anacephalaiosis*, On Tom, 3, c. 39, ed. Holl II, p. 2.

²⁷ John Damascene, *De Haer. Lib.* 39, in: *MPG* 94, c. 701A.

²⁸ Joseppus, *Lib. Memorabilis* CXL 14, in: *MPG* 106, c. 152B.

²⁹ Augustine, *De Haer. Lib.* XIX, ed. Oehler I, p. 200. Also in the title of the work called "The Paraphrase of Shem" this name was probably interchanged with Seth, see p. 105.

³⁰ Praedestinatus c. XIX, ed. Oehler I, p. 238.

³¹ Pseudo-Jerome, *Indic. de Haer.* c. IX, ed. Oehler I, p. 290. In Didymus Alexandrinus, *Ennaratio in Ep. B. Judae*, in: *MPG* 39, c. 1813C, we read about Simon, Marcion, Valentinus, Sethians and Cainites. The same in Serapion of Thmuis, *Lib. adv. Manich.* III, in: *MPG* 40, c. 901D-904A. Cf. Origen, in *Epist. ad Titum*, in: C. H. E. Lommatszsch, *Origenis Opera Omnia* t. V, Berolini 1835, p. 285: . . . *sicut sectatores Marcionis, et Valentini, et Basilidis, et hi qui se Tethianos appellant.*

For the rest we have to go into a number of other heresies which, according to Christian authors, mention Seth. Discussing the Valentinians, Irenaeus said that there were three kinds of persons, the pneumatic, the material and the psychic. These correspond to Seth, Cain and Abel. The whole of mankind is divided into three groups.³²

More important is Epiphanius' description of the *Archontici*. In his view, these people originated in Palestine and spread over Armenia.³³ They said that the devil cohabited with Eve and that in this way Cain and Abel were born.³⁴ This is a familiar idea in Jewish writings.³⁵ The two brothers were envious of each other because they both loved their own sister.³⁶ It is not clear whether twin sisters are involved but the opinion that Cain killed Abel because of their sister is equally well known in Jewish writings.³⁷ Seth is regarded as the child of Adam and Eve. His name *Allogenes* obviously refers to his being of "another seed". Seth is said to have been taken up above in order to be instructed and protected. This is reminiscent of passages in Christian literature, according to which Seth was taken up to heaven in order to be taught by the angels.³⁸ He was brought back to earth again, pneumatic and invisible with the result that the demiurge was unable to harm him.³⁹ This obviously means that Seth was thought to reveal heavenly secrets.

Nothing more about Seth is found in connection with the *Archontici*, apart from the fact that they possessed books in his name and others "in his name and that of his seven sons", who were called "allogeneis".⁴⁰

³² Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I 7 5, cf. *Excerpta e Theodoto* 54, 1, p. 170: πρώτη (scil. φύσις) μὲν ἡ ἔλογος, ἥς ἦν Κάιν, δευτέρα δὲ ἡ λογικὴ καὶ ἡ δικαία, ἥς ἦν Ἀβελ, τρίτη δὲ ἡ πνευματικὴ, ἥς ἦν Σήθ. The Sethians mentioned in Hippolytus, *Refut.* V 19 1-22 1, ed. P. Wendland, in: *Griech. Christl. Schriftst.*, Hippolytus III, Leipzig 1916, p. 116-125, also belonged to the same group. Mankind was divided in three groups, those of Adam, Eve and the Serpent; Cain, Abel and Seth; Shem, Ham and Japheth; Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (V 20 2). For the rest Seth is not specifically mentioned. Hippolytus seems to have been influenced by a book called *Παράφρασις Σήθ* (22 1) see p. 105.

³³ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 40 1 1-2, p. 80-81.

³⁴ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 40 5 3, p. 85.

³⁵ See *Genesis Rabbah* XXII 7, p. 187.

³⁶ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 40 5 4, p. 85.

³⁷ See Aptowitzer, *op. cit.*, p. 19-26.

³⁸ See p. 51, n. 16.

³⁹ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 40 7 1-3, p. 87-88.

⁴⁰ Epiphanius, *Pan.* 40 7 4-5, p. 88, see also H.-Ch. Puech, s.v. *Archontiker*, in: *Reallex. für Antike und Christent.* I, c. 638-643.

This is all that can be found concerning Seth in the anti-heretical texts of Christian authors writing in Greek and Latin. We may therefore conclude that they knew of people or books which stressed the importance of Seth as the first of a particular generation of men originating from the Highest God or the Mother and in continuous danger of being destroyed. In this connection, the flood is mentioned as an attempt to destroy the generation of Cain and Abel. The fall of the angels is also mentioned but its meaning is not clear.

b. *The Nag Hammadi Library*

In the introduction to this chapter we have already said that the interest in gnostic Sethian groups was roused by the discovery of the Nag Hammadi texts, many of which refer to Seth. Böhlig gives a list of eight texts mentioning Seth. Not all of them, however, deal at length with Seth. In some of them, his name is simply quoted in the title of the work.⁴¹

It would be impossible to give a general survey here of all the ideas about Seth contained in these writings. Although many of them show agreement in a number of details, the texts differ to such an extent among themselves that an individual treatment of each of the main texts is necessary if we are to do full justice to their contents.

The *Apocalypse of Adam* is undoubtedly one of the most interesting of the texts discovered at Nag Hammadi. Although we reject the idea that this Apocalypse is of pre-Christian origin, it nevertheless contains a wealth of pre-Christian or Jewish material.⁴²

⁴¹ See A. Böhlig und Pahor Labib, *Koptisch-Gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo*. Herausgegeben, übersetzt und bearbeitet, in: *Wissensch. Zeitschr. der Martin-Luther-Universität*, Halle-Wittenberg 1963, Sonderband, p. 87, and A. Böhlig, *Die Adamsapokalypse aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi als Zeugnis jüdisch-iranischer Gnosis*, in: *Oriens Christ.* 48 1964, p. 44-49, p. 44-45.

⁴² See for the opinion of a pre-Christian origin, A. Böhlig-P. Labib, *op. cit.*, p. 95, A. Böhlig, *Jüdisches und Iranisches in der Adamsapokalypse der Codex V von Nag Hammadi*, in: *Mysterion und Wahrheit*, Leiden 1968, p. 149-161. See also reviews of the edition by Böhlig-Labib by K. Rudolph, in: *Theol. Literaturz.* 90 1965, c. 361; C. W. MacRae, in: *Heythrop Journal* 6 1965, p. 27-35; R. Kasser, in: *Rev. de Théol. et de Philos.* 16 1967, p. 325, and H.-M. Schenke, in: *Orient. Literaturz.* 61 1966, c. 32, of whom the last two are hesitant. J. M. Robinson also favours a pre-Christian origin in *Die*

The Apocalypse was given by Adam to Seth on the seven hundredth year. It is suggested that since Seth was born in 130 (see Gen. 5, 3) and Adam lived 930 years, the revelation was given one hundred years before Adam's death. This, however, is extremely unlikely. The author is obviously following the text of the LXX and Josephus, according to which Seth was born in 230, thus implying that Adam's revelation was given at the end of his life.⁴³

Adam tells Seth that he and Eve were created from the earth and that he possessed a glory which was seen by Eve in the aeon from which they originated. Eve also taught Adam a word of gnosis. It is obvious that Eve is here seen as the source of life.⁴⁴ They were both like the great and eternal angels⁴⁵ and even taller than the God who created them.⁴⁶ Here it appears that Adam and Eve were

Johanneische Entwicklungslinie, in: *Entwicklungslinien durch die Welt des frühen Christentums* von H. Köster und J. M. Robinson, Tübingen 1971, p. 216-250, p. 218. See also M. Krause in: *Die Gnosis II: Koptische und Mandäische Quellen*. Eingeleitet, übersetzt und erläutert von M. Krause und K. Rudolph, Zürich und Stuttgart 1971, p. 20, who suggests that it is not pre-Christian, but non-Christian. A Christian influence is assumed by J. Daniélou, *Review of Böhlig-Labib*, in: *Rech. de Sc. Rel.* 54 1966, p. 291-293; S. Pétremont, *La Colloque de Messina et le Problème du Gnosticisme*, in: *Rev. de Métaphysique et de Morale* 72 1967, p. 344-373, p. 368; R. McLeod Wilson, *Gnosis and the New Testament*, Oxford 1968, p. 138, and E. Yamauchi, *Pre-Christian Gnosticism*, London 1973, p. 107-115. See also K. Rudolph, *Gnosis und Gnostizismus, ein Forschungsbericht*, in: *Theol. Rundschau* n.F. 34 1969, p. 121-175; 181-231 and 258-361, esp. 160-169.

⁴³ Böhlig-Labib, *op. cit.*, p. 87, n. 13, suggested that the revelation was given one hundred years before Adam's death. See also Krause, in: *Gnosis II*, p. 152. What we have here is an idea first encountered in the *Vita Adae et Evae* and later in the *Testament of Adam*.

⁴⁴ 64, 12-13. In 69, 15-16, it is again said that the gnosis is from Eve. See *Hypostasis of the Archons* 137, 11-13 and 137, 31-138, 13, p. 25 and 25-26, and *Untitled Work* 163, 30-164, 3, p. 78-81. Here Eve is called "Zoe" which means that the word *חַיָּה* was supposed to be derived from *חַיָּה*. The idea that Adam and Eve were clothed in glory is also found in *Genesis Rabbah* XI 2, p. 81, and XII 6, 91, see also *Numeri Rabbah* XIII 12, p. 523, *Ps. Jonathan Gen.* 3, 7, *Pirḳê de Rabbi Eliezer* XIV, p. 98, cf. W. Staerk, *Die Erlösererwartung in den östlichen Religionen (Soter II)*, Stuttgart und Berlin 1938, p. 10-11, cf. also Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III 23 5, Tertullian, *De Pudic.* 9 and *De Resurrect.* 7.

⁴⁵ Adam and Eve like angels, see *Genesis Rabbah* VIII 11, p. 61; XII 8, p. 94 and XIV 3, p. 112.

⁴⁶ Adam was from one end of the world to the other, cf. *b. Hag.* 12a, ed. Goldschmidt IV, p. 259; *b. Baba Bathra* 75a, VIII p. 211, *b. Sanh.* 38b, VIII p. 609 and 100a, IX p. 81, *Genesis Rabbah* VIII 1, p. 54 and XII 6, p. 91 and other places, see Staerk, *op. cit.*, p. 15. The same idea is also available in *Apocryphon of John* II 28, 6-7 = IV 43, 17-18, ed. Krause-Labib p. 188-189 and 245. See Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I 30 6; *The Book of the Resur-*

originally created by a lower God, but Eve appears to have had revealed knowledge about the higher God, with the result that they both lived in glory.

In accordance with the ideas about the sect of the Sethians discussed in the first part of this chapter, we read about a reaction from the side of the creator. Since he separated Adam and Eve, they lost their glory when they became two aeons. Here the author was clearly following the biblical story, according to which Eve was created from Adam's rib (Gen. 2, 21-22), implying that an original androgenous man became male and female. This story was already explained as an indication of deterioration in Jewish circles⁴⁷ and this idea was taken over by the gnostics.⁴⁸

This, however, was not the end of the existence of knowledge on earth. According to the Apocalypse of Adam, Adam tells Seth that the knowledge they possessed went into "the seed (σπορά) of the great aeons". He goes on to saying: "therefore I named you after the name of that man who is the seed (σπορά) of this generation from whom it originated". It is obvious that the knowledge once in the possession of Adam and Eve passed into Seth. He is the "seed of this great generation" and for that reason he received his name.

It is possible that we are here dealing with two ideas. In the first place there is a play on the word σπορά. Seth is "another seed" which was said in Gen. 4, 25, but his name **ⲥⲏⲏ** in Coptic also reminds us of **ⲥⲓⲣⲉ**, the Coptic word for "seed".⁴⁹

Stripped of their glory, Adam and Eve serve the God who created them, but three men appear to Adam who do not belong to the powers of the God who created Adam.⁵⁰ They inform Adam

rection of Christ by Bartholomew the Apostle, ed. M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford 1924, p. 184, and Jerome, *De Situ et Nom. Loc. Hebraic. Liber*, ed. P. de Lagarde 84, 12: *Adam magnus*.

⁴⁷ See *Genesis Rabbah* VIII 1, p. 54, cf. XVII 5, p. 136 and 6, p. 137, b. Ber. 61a, ed. Goldschmidt I p. 273-274; b. Erub. 18b. II p. 54, see Staerk, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁴⁸ See *Hypostasis of the Archons* 135, 22-29, p. 21; see also p. 75-80, and A. F. J. Klijn, *The "Single One" in the Gospel of Thomas*, in: *Journ. of Bibl. Lit.* 81 1962, p. 271-278.

⁴⁹ 65, 5-9, see R. Kasser, *Bibliothèque Gnostique V, Apocalypse d'Adam*, in: *Rev. de Théol. et de Philos.*, trois. Série t. XVII 1967, p. 316-333, p. 318, n. 2, and also idem, *Textes Gnostiques. Remarques à propos des Éditions Récentes du Livre Secret de Jean et des Apocalypses de Paul, Jacques et Adam*, in: *Le Muséon* 68 1965, p. 71-98, p. 93, n. 56.

⁵⁰ 65, 25-32. For the relation between this passage and Gen. 18, 2, see

about the "aeon and the $\sigma\pi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$ of that man to whom life has come who came from him and Eve". Adam is, therefore, told about Seth.⁵¹ Adam seems to be restored to his original glory, but when Adam desired Eve he lost his eternal knowledge again and death overtook him. Sexual intercourse is clearly regarded as the origin of death.⁵²

Adam then tells Seth what was said by the three men who appeared to him. The Apocalypse of Adam is therefore an apocalypse within an apocalypse. Within the framework of Adam's revelation about his origin, that is, the past, he reveals the things revealed to him about the future.

He reveals that when the years of this generation have come to an end, rain will come from God to destroy all flesh. This concerns the $\sigma\pi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}$ of the people to whom the revelation of knowledge had come, those who came from Eve.⁵³ This is obviously a counter-move made by the God of creation against the generation of Seth. They were, however, taken up into the clouds, where the spirit of life was to be found. This idea can be compared with the statement in the *Archontici* that Seth was taken up to hide him from the Demiurge.⁵⁴

All flesh will perish, but Noah⁵⁵ will be saved. Noah, who belongs to the God of creation, will reign on earth like a king. But the people who were separated by the gnosis of the great aeons, in other words, the people of the Highest God, came to Noah. According to the God of Noah, this generation was created by Noah

Böhlig-Labib, *op. cit.*, p. 88 and A. Böhlig, *Jüdisches und Iranisches*, . . ., p. 149; this suggestion is, however, far-fetched. We might refer to the Armenian *Der Tod Adams*, ed. Preuschen p. 24-25, according to which Eve had a dream in which she saw Adam in a palace where he met three persons on a throne, one of whom spoke to him. This may possibly refer to the Trinity, but see *Apoc. of John* II 2, 10-14, p. 112, where there is referred to a person with three forms: "I am the Father, I am the Mother, I am the Son".

⁵¹ 66, 3-8. Seth appears here to be a son of Adam and Eve!

⁵² 67, 1-12. See also the *Gospel of Thomas* log. 22, and the *Gospel of Philip* log. 71, 78, 79 and 94, in both of which sexual intercourse is seen as the origin of death.

⁵³ 69, 12-17. What is remarkable is that there is reference to those who came from Eve, but not about the offspring of Seth.

⁵⁴ 69, 19-25.

⁵⁵ 70, 17-19 Noah is called one "whom the generations will call Deucalion". This identification is also found in Philo, *Praem.* 23; Justin Martyr, *Apol.* II 7 2; Origen, *c. Cels.* I 19 and Theophilus, *Ad Autol.* II 30-31 and III 19. It is clear from this that nothing is said about "den synkretistischen Charakter der Schrift" as Böhlig and Labib, *op. cit.*, p. 89, claim.

himself. Noah disputes this, and God makes them to live in a separate country for six hundred years, knowing and imperishable.⁵⁶

The rest of the work deals with the things which are to take place after Noah. They obviously reflect the situation as it is seen by the author in his own time.

Noah divides the earth among his three sons. The generation of Shem is dealt with separately. They will serve God "in fear and commandment" and will not leave God, but will serve him in humility and the fear of knowledge.⁵⁷ It is quite obvious that this is a description of the Jews, who are to serve the God of creation and his law.⁵⁸

The sons of Ham and Japheth are dealt with together. Numbering altogether 400000 persons,⁵⁹ they are to go to live with those people who originated from the eternal gnosis. They will found twelve kingdoms.⁶⁰ The sons of Noah complain to their God, Saklas, about the people of the eternal gnosis.⁶¹ Fire, brimstone and asphalt are cast upon the earth to destroy the people of knowledge, but these are snatched away by Abrasax, Sablo and Gamaliel⁶² to live with the angels.⁶³

It is not clear whether this is an allusion to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, since it may be a reference to a periodical destruction of the earth by water and fire.⁶⁴ The people of eternal knowledge are saved as the people who were save from the flood.

The Apocalypse goes on to say that the "Illuminator" (φωστήρ)⁶⁵ will come a "third time", which is clearly a third time after the

⁵⁶ 71, 14-72, 14.

⁵⁷ 72, 18-73, 12.

⁵⁸ Böhlig, *Jüdisches und Iranisches* . . . , p. 154, n. 1: "Sem, der mit Seth zu eng zusammenhängt, ist in Ap Ad von 72, 17 ab weggelassen. Seine Söhne haben sich wahrscheinlich zu dem Sethmenschen geschlagen". This is a misunderstanding.

⁵⁹ In *Mandäische Homilien*, Bd. 1, ed. H. K. Polotsky-H. Ibscher, Stuttgart 1934, there is this obscure passage: "Er machte 373 . . . Kain und seine Geschlecht--Enoch, Sem, Schem, und die anderen . . . böse. 400000 Gerechte . . . die Jahve Henoch's . . ." (68, 15-19).

⁶⁰ 73, 12-27.

⁶¹ 74, 4-75, 8.

⁶² The same names in *The Gospel of the Egyptians*, III 52, 20-53, 1 and IV 64, 15-21, ed. A. Böhlig, F. Wisse, Pahor Labib, in: *Nag Hammadi Studies* IV, Leiden 1975, p. 104-105.

⁶³ 75, 9-76, 7.

⁶⁴ See Appendix I.

⁶⁵ For the Illuminator, see Böhlig, *Jüdisches und Iranisches* . . . , p. 158-161.

deliverance from the flood and the fire.⁶⁶ Now, however, he comes to save some of the sons of Ham and Japheth who are sealed with the seal of Seth. The God of creation knows that the Illuminator is more powerful than he and therefore punishes the Illuminator's followers.⁶⁷ Even those who do not originally belong to the generation of Seth can therefore be saved. The martyrdom of the Sethians is mentioned in this passage.

This is followed by a long passage about the thirteen kingdoms.⁶⁸ What they all have in common is that they all deal with the origin of the Illuminator. Some say that he comes from heaven or that he is a prophet or born from a virgin, while others think differently.⁶⁹ Finally, a generation without a king appears which says that the Illuminator was chosen from all aeons.⁷⁰ Anyone taking his name "from the water" will be in danger, but will live eternally.⁷¹ This passage is of a different character. There is no Haggadic material and the name of Seth is not encountered.

It is clear that the Apocalypse of Adam originated in an environment where a Christian Church existed. The thirteen kingdoms mentioned in this passage are obviously representatives of various groups, all of them professing faith in the Saviour, either as Christians or as gnostics. None of them has exact knowledge of his origin and nature. It is only at the end of time that some will know

⁶⁶ In the *Gospel of the Egyptians* we have a close parallel where Seth is said to pass through "three parousias. . . the flood, and the conflagration and the judgement of the archons and the powers . . . to save her (i.e. the race) who went astray", see III 63, 4-8 and IV 74, 17ff, p. 142-143. In *The Apocryphon of John* II 30, 32-31, 1, p. 186, Pronoia descends to earth a third time.

⁶⁷ 76, 8-77, 27.

⁶⁸ 77, 27-82, 19.

⁶⁹ 82, 19-28. Cf. R. Haardt, *Review of Some Editions of Nag Hammadi Writings*, in: *Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenl.* 61 1967, p. 147-162, p. 157: "Der Exkurs zeigt . . ., welche Vorstellungen von Erlösergeburten dem Autor im Rahmen des hellenistischen Synkretismus bekannt geworden sind", and L. Schottroff, *Animae naturaliter salvandae. Zum Problem der himmlischen Herkunft des Gnostikers*, in: *Christentum und Gnosis, Aufsätze herausgegeben von W. Eltester*, Berlin 1969, p. 65-97, p. 73-97. In the *Gospel of the Egyptians* III 63, 16-18 and IV 75, 4-5, p. 144-145, we read: "... the renouncing of the world and the god of the thirteen aeons. . ." which means, that here too the idea of thirteen kingdoms which have to be rejected was known.

⁷⁰ 83, 1-6. Cf. Schottroff, *op. cit.*, p. 79. We wonder whether this has anything to do with the fourteen aeons "über die Sethel [in seinem] Gebet gesprochen hat", found in *Kephalaia* I 42, 25-26, ed. H. Ibscher, Stuttgart 1940.

⁷¹ 85, 19-32.

that he was chosen from the aeons. They form a community of those who were baptised. The work closes with the statement that this was revealed by Adam to Seth as hidden knowledge. This is the Holy Baptism of those who have eternal knowledge.

The Apocalypse reveals clear affinities with the descriptions of the Sethians given by Pseudo-Tertullian and Epiphanius. Here too, the author outlines the moves and counter-moves made by the God of creation and the Highest God. For the rest, it is difficult to compare the Apocalypse and Pseudo-Tertullian, since we lack information by Christian authors about the so-called sect of the Sethians. We may say, that in the Apocalypse of Adam, Eve plays an important part, that the fall of the angels is not mentioned and that the flood (and the fire) is caused by the lower God, whereas Pseudo-Tertullian taught that the Sethians did not mention Adam and Eve, that the fall of the angels was very important and that the flood was caused by the Mother.

For the rest, the Apocalypse of Adam provides a much clearer picture than Pseudo-Tertullian of the events connected with the flood. Whereas Pseudo-Tertullian seems to imply that Noah belonged to the *semen purum*, the Apocalypse of Adam calls him the creation of the lower God. Some of his offspring were baptized because they might be saved in the future, but the real offspring of Seth has already been saved and taken to heaven earlier. It seems that their existence on earth was only temporary. This is in accordance with the failure to mention Seth or his offspring in the last part of the text.

In the *Apocryphon of John*, Seth is mentioned in connection with a description of the heavenly world and after the creation of the earthly Adam.

Christ was the sixth emanation of the Highest God born from Barbelo.⁷² He created twelve aeons attached to four lights.⁷³ He

⁷² Here we quote from Codex II, according to M. Krausse and P. Labib, *Die Drei Versionen*. . . . The parallels with the other texts, including BG, published by W. C. Till, *Die Gnostischen Schriften des Koptischen Papyrus Berolensis 8502*, in: *Texte u. Unters.* 60, Berlin 1955, can be found on p. 49-53 of this edition. The relation with Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I 29, was discussed by C. Schmidt, *Irenaeus und seine Quelle in adv. haer. I. 29*, in: *Philotesia. Paul Kleinert zum LXX. Geburtstag dargebracht*, Berlin 1907, p. 315-336. See also S. Giversen, *Apocryphon Johannis. The Coptic Text of the Apocryphon Johannis in the Nag Hammadi Codex II with Translation, Introduction and Commentary*, in: *Acta Theol. Danica V*, Copenhagen 1963. See II 6, 10-18, p. 24.

⁷³ II 8, 25-26, p. 131.

placed Adamas with the first light, called Armozel,⁷⁴ established "his son Seth" with the second light, called Oriel,⁷⁵ and the offspring of Seth with the third, called Davithai. Finally, Eleleth was placed with the souls converted later.⁷⁶

On the other hand, Sophia created Ialtabaoth,⁷⁷ who in turn also created twelve aeons, called Athoth, Harmas, Kalilaumbri, Iabel, Adonaiu, Kain, known as the "sun", Abel, Abrisene, Iobel, Armupiel, Melcheiradonein and Belias.⁷⁸

In the heavenly world Seth, who is connected with the aeons of Christ, and Cain and Abel, who are connected with the aeons of Ialtabaoth are opposed to each other, the "first aeon" being "weak" and having two other names, viz. Saklas and Samael.⁷⁹

After the creation of Adam, we meet Seth, Cain and Abel again. After his creation, Adam remained motionless⁸⁰ until Ialtabaoth blew his spirit into his body. In this way, his mother's power entered Adam's psychic body; after this it moved, received strength and shone.⁸¹ The powers became envious because Adam was stronger than they and the first archon were.⁸²

Adam was then thrown into matter but Metropater, who was beneficent and merciful, sent Zoc to teach him how to ascend. Zoc, who is also called Epinoia remained hidden in Adam.⁸³ The archons

⁷⁴ II 8, 34-9, I, p. 132.

⁷⁵ II 9, 11-13, p. 133.

⁷⁶ II 9, 14-15, p. 133-134.

⁷⁷ II 10, 1-23, p. 135-137.

⁷⁸ II 10, 23-11, 4, p. 137-139; for Cain being the "sun", see p. 3.

⁷⁹ II 11, 16-18, p. 140.

⁸⁰ II 19, 11-14, p. 160. The idea of Adam lying motionless is also found in *Genesis Rabbah* XIV 8, p. 116, b. *Sanh.* 38b, ed. Goldschmidt VIII p. 609, *Aboth de Rabbi Nathan* ch. 1, p. 11, see Ginzberg, *Legends* V, p. 79, n. 22. See also Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I 24 1 and I 30 6; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 37 4 1, p. 55; Hippolytus, *Refut.* V 2 and VIII 16; *Hypostasis of the Archons* 135, 33-136, 6, p. 20-23; *Untitled Work* 163, 3-164, 11, p. 76-81, and *Ginzā R.*, ed. M. Lidzbarski, Göttingen-Leipzig 1925, p. 108, 4-7.

⁸¹ II 19, 28-33, p. 161-162.

⁸² II 19, 34, p. 162. For the angels' or Satan's envy of Adam, see *Vita Adae et Evae* XIII 1-XVII 3; Josephus, *Antiquit.* I 41; b. *Sanh.* 59b, ed. Goldschmidt VII p. 700; Theophilus, *Ad Autol.* II 29. See also B. A. Pearson, *Jewish Haggadic Traditions in the Testimony of Truth from Nag Hammadi* (CG IX, 2), in: *Ex Orbe Religionum, Studia G. Widengren oblata* I, in: *Studies in the History of Religions* XXI, Leiden 1972, p. 457-470, esp. 460 and 468, and W. G. van Unnik, *Der Neid in der Paradiesgeschichte nach einigen gnostischen Texten*, in: *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in honour of A. Böhlig*, Leiden 1972, p. 120-132.

⁸³ II 20, 14-24, p. 163-164. The author makes a distinction between two

then made a body of earth, water, fire and wind to give man "the chain of the oblivion" and make him a "mortal man". Adam was set in paradise,⁸⁴ where the tree of knowledge was Epinoia.⁸⁵

The first archon wished to call forth the power that was given to Adam, but Epinoia could not be reached, so that only a part was taken away and created in the form of a women, "according to the image of Epinoia".⁸⁶ She was called Zoe and it was through her that Adam received perfect gnosis.⁸⁷ Ialtabaoth removed them from paradise.⁸⁸

Next, the first archon defiled Eve and two sons were born, Eloim with the head of a bear and Iave with the head of a cat, the one just and the other unjust, calling them Cain and Abel.⁸⁹ The text goes on to say: "But when Adam knew the image of his Prognosis, he brought forth the image of the son of man. He called him 'Seth'".⁹⁰ The first aeon saw that the perfect generation surpassed him in sublimity and took counsel with the archons.⁹¹

creations, one according to Gen. 1 and the other according to Gen. 2 and 3, see also Philo, *De Opic. Mundi* 134.

⁸⁴ II 20, 35-21, 14, p. 165-166. The same in *Hypostasis of the Archons* 136, 24-26, p. 22-23. Adam composed of the four elements, earth, water fire and wind is also found in Philo, *De Opic. Mundi* 51, and *De Decal.* 8.

⁸⁵ II 22, 3-5, p. 169. Here the Tree of Knowledge gives divine knowledge; cf. Theophilus, *Ad Autol.* II 25; Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III 23 6: God did not forbid man to eat from the tree because he was jealous; *Hypostasis of the Archons* 137, 31-138, 10, p. 24-27; *Untitled Work* 166, 28-167, 12, p. 86-89, and *Pistis Sophia* 228, 25-229, 5, ed. C. Schmidt and W. Till, *Koptisch-Gnostische Schriften I: Die Pistis Sophia* . . ., Berlin 1954.

⁸⁶ II 22, 35, p. 172. Here the author speaks of the creation of Eve from Adam's rib, although denied by the author (23, 3-4, p. 172), as an effort to "divide" him. We met the same idea in the *Apocalypse of Adam*, according to which Adam lost his glory, see p. 92.

⁸⁷ II 23, 4-26, p. 173-174. Here Eve is Adam's source of knowledge; this is in accordance with the *Apocalypse of Adam*, see p. 91., but see also *Genesis Rabbah* XVII 1, p. 140: "R. Eliazar said in the name of R. Jose b. Zimra: She was endowed with more understanding (בִּינָה) than a man", and *Hypostasis of the Archons* 137, 14-17, p. 24-25: "You (Eve) are the one who gave me life. You will be called the mother of the living, because she is my mother. She is the physician and the woman, and she who has given birth", and *Untitled Work* 164, 2-8, p. 80-81.

⁸⁸ II 23, 35-24, 8, p. 175-176, cf. *Hypostasis of the Archons* 139, 4-5, p. 28-29.

⁸⁹ II 24, 15-34, p. 177-178, cf. *Untitled Work* 165, 13-18, p. 82-83. For the Jewish background, see p. 3 and 8-9.

⁹⁰ II 24, 34-25, 1, p. 179. Mankind traces its origin back to Seth. This agrees with Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* I 30 9, and the *Hypostasis of the Archons* 139, 30-140, 3, p. 28-31, both saying that with Seth a sister was born called Noreah, but cf. *Hypostasis of the Archons* 140, 40, p. 30-31, where she corresponds with Eve in relation with Adam, being "life".

⁹¹ II 28, 11-12, p. 189.

A new attempt was made by the first archon to destroy mankind. A flood was threatened; Noah was informed by Pronoia, but they did not obey him. He was taken up into the cloud of light.⁹² Next the archon sent angels to the daughters of man. After an initial failure, the angels changed themselves in the image of their husbands.⁹³ They brought gold, silver and gifts and copper, iron, metal and every kind of beautiful thing and tempted mankind.⁹⁴

And "thus the whole creation were slaves for all eternity from the foundation of the world until now".⁹⁵ But Pronoia has come to awake those who are in the power of death.⁹⁶

In the *Apocryphon*, we again encounter a very interesting approach to the first chapters of Genesis already known from the so-called sect of the Sethians and the *Apocalypse of Adam*, although it contains ideas which are not encountered in the other writings.

The *Apocryphon of John* also has something to say about the moves and counter-moves made by the opposite Powers. As in the *Apocalypse of Adam*, the flood is caused by the lower powers but, in the *Apocryphon* Noah himself clearly belongs to the offspring of Seth, since he is saved and taken up into a cloud. The author attempts to explain the situation following the disappearance of the offspring of Seth by interchanging the stories of the flood and the fall of the angels, which was the cause of a general corruption on earth. This agrees with a similar corruption which, according to the *Apocalypse of Adam*, began at the time of Noah and his sons. This shows that the period concerned here is after the disappearance of the offspring of Seth. This is the period which correspondends with the situation in heaven where Eleleth was

⁹² II 28, 32-29, 12, p. 190-192. Also in the *Hypostasis of the Archons* 140, 4-8, p. 30-31, and the *Paraphrase of Sem*, 25, 11-13, ed. M. Krause, in: F. Altheim und R. Stiehl, *Christentum am Roten Meer*, Berlin-New York 1973, p. 55, the archons decide to make a flood. For the "cloud" in the *Apocalypse of Adam*, see p. 93.

⁹³ II 29, 16-29, p. 192-193. For the identification of angels with husbands, see p. 21 Cf. *Paraphrase of Sem* 28, 14-17, p. 60-63: "Nach der Flut wurden Dämonen zu ihnen gesandt und ein Irren der Winde und ein Last der Engel. . ."

⁹⁴ II 29, 30-30, 2, p. 193-194. The angel's introduction of gold, silver and metals can be found in I Enoch 8, 1; see also Y. Janssens, *Le Thème de la Fornication des Angels*, in: *Le Origini dello Gnosticismo*, in: *Studies in the History of Religions* XII, Leiden 1967, p. 488-495.

⁹⁵ II 39, 4-7, p. 194, see also S. Giversen, *The Apocryphon of John and Genesis*, in: *Studia Theol.* 17 1963, p. 60-76.

⁹⁶ II 31, 11-28, p. 197-198.

placed with the souls converted later. What is more, the name of Seth is not mentioned during this period.

The *Gospel of the Egyptians* has a number of different conclusions. First it is said that "this is the book which the great Seth wrote, and placed in high mountains on which the sun has not risen . . ." ⁹⁷ This reminds us of the Ps. Chrysostom according to which books written by Seth were placed on a mountain and studied by the Magi living in the east.⁹⁸ The Gospel also, concludes with the statement: "The great Seth wrote this books with letters in one hundred and thirty years. He placed it in the mountain that is called Charaxio . . ." ⁹⁹ This book is apparently to be brought out at the end of time to reveal, among other things "this incorruptible, holy race (γενέα) of the great saviour, and those who dwell with them in love." ¹⁰⁰ Another conclusion, the last, is: "The Gospel of the Egyptians. The god-written, secret book".¹⁰¹ The title of the book given at the end is the same as the one at the beginning: "The holy book of the great invisible Spirit".¹⁰²

We may assume that the title "Gospel of the Egyptians" was of later date and that it was given to this work by a copyist, possibly the one mentioned in the work itself, viz. Eugnostos, "in the flesh" Genogessos.¹⁰³ We may also make a distinction in this work between one part concerning the world in heaven and another dealing with the creation of mankind.

The author himself summarizes the beginning of this book with the following words: "These are the three powers, the three ogdoads that the Father through his providence brought forth from his bosom. He brought them forth at that place".¹⁰⁴ This applies to the "great invisible Spirit" from whom the Father, the Mother, also called Barbelo, and the Son came.¹⁰⁵ The members of this trinity

⁹⁷ *Nag Hammadi Codices III, 2 and IV, 2. The Gospel of the Egyptians (The Holy Book of the Great and Invisible Spirit)*, edited with translation and commentary by A. Böhlig and F. Wisse in cooperation with Pahor Labib, in: *Nag Hammadi Studies* IV, Leiden 1975, III 68, 1-4 and IV 80, 15-18.

⁹⁸ See p. 57-58.

⁹⁹ III 68, 10-14 and IV 18, 1—corrupt. It is doubtful whether the 130 years has anything to do with Adam being 130 years when Seth was born, as suggested by Böhlig, *op. cit.*, p. 31, n. 5.

¹⁰⁰ III 68, 20-24.

¹⁰¹ III 69, 6-7.

¹⁰² III 69, 13-20; III 40, 12-14 and IV 50, 1-3.

¹⁰³ III 69, 10-12, see Böhlig, *op. cit.*, p. 18-23.

¹⁰⁴ III 43, 4-8 and IV 52, 24-53, 3.

¹⁰⁵ III 41, 7-9 and IV 50, 23-26, see also III 42, 12 and IV 52, 4.

are ogdoads.¹⁰⁶ The "place" also originated in the invisible spirit and was called Domedon-Doxomedon, an aeon enveloping the world of light.¹⁰⁷

Three powers or ogdoads praise the invisible Spirit and invoke a power; after this "the thrice-male child or the great Christ" appears filling the great Doxomedon aeon.¹⁰⁸ Next "the male virgin Youel" and the "the child Esephech" come into being.¹⁰⁹ In the fragmentary text which is left, we read that "a female being" possibly Pronoia, established the angels in order to praise the trinity.¹¹⁰ Then the Logos appears, the son of the great Christ.¹¹¹ The Logos offering praise, then causes Mirotheo who begets Light-Adamas to appear.¹¹² "The incorruptible man Adamas asked for them (that is, Logos and Adamas), a son out of himself, in order that he (that is, the son) may become father of the immovable, incorruptible race, so that, through it, the silence and the voice may appear, and through it, the dead aeon may raise itself so that it may dissolve."¹¹³ The next to appear is "Manifestation" (προφάνεια) who gives birth to Harmozel, Oroiael, Davithe, Eleleth and "the great incorruptible Seth, the son of the incorruptible man Adamas."¹¹⁴ The four lights receive ministers called Gamaliel, Gabriel, Samlo and Abrasax.¹¹⁵ The Logos and the pleroma of the four lights give praise and ask whether the seed of the father may be called seed of the great Seth.¹¹⁶ The thrice-male child appears with the great Christ who created the Spiritual Church.¹¹⁷

¹⁰⁶ III 41, 23-43 and IV 51, 15-52, 24.

¹⁰⁷ III 41, 13-22 and IV 51, 2-14 and also III 43, 8-44 and IV 53, 1-54, 12.

¹⁰⁸ III 44, 9-28 (the rest is corrupt) and IV 54, 13-56, 10.

¹⁰⁹ IV 56, 11-22 (III is corrupt).

¹¹⁰ IV 58, 23-59, 28.

¹¹¹ IV 59, 29-60, 12.

¹¹² IV 60, 22-61, 18 and III 49, 1-16 (partly missing). Cf. Böhlig, *op. cit.*, p. 176, who supposes that Mirotheo was derived from μοῖρα.

¹¹³ III 51, 5-14 and IV 62, 30-63, 8. This is reminiscent of what Pseudo-Tertullian says about the Sethians: . . . *voluisse . . . nasci . . . Seth . . . ut evacuarentur angeli*, cf. Epiphanius . . . *καθαίρεθῶσιν αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν ἀγγέλων*. . . , see p. 82 and 86.

¹¹⁴ III 51, 14-22 and IV 63, 8-16, cf. *Unbekanntes altgnostisches Werk*, C. Schmidt, W. Till, *Kopt.-Gnost. Schriften I, Die Pistis Sophia*. . . , Berlin 1954, p. 362, 14-15: ἡληληθ, δαυειδε and ωροιαηλ are φωστήρες.

¹¹⁵ III 52, 19-53 and IV 64, 14-23. Abrasax, Sabo and Gamaliel are mentioned in the *Apocalypse of Adam* in 75, 21ff as those who helped the sons of Seth to save them from the fire.

¹¹⁶ III 53, 12-54, 11 and IV 65, 5-30.

¹¹⁷ III 54, 11-55, 16 and IV 65, 30-67, 1.

Seth prays for his seed. After this Plesithea comes "with the four breasts, bringing the fruit from Gomorrah as spring and Sodom, which is the fruit of the spring of Gomorrah which is in her". Next Seth places his seed (σπορά) "with him in the fourth aeon, in the third great light Davithe".¹¹⁸

Then Eleleth says that someone must reign over the chaos and Hades and Sakla is chosen for this task and in turn appoints twelve angels: Athoth, Harmas, Galila, Yobel, Adonaios, Cain "the sun", Abel, Akiressina, Yubel, Harmupiael, Achir-Adonim and Belias.¹¹⁹ Man is then created.¹²⁰ Metanoia comes with God's approval to the race of the sons of Seth to make good the deficiency. She prays both for the children of the evil Archon and for those of Adam and Seth.¹²¹

Hormos makes a body for Seth. Seth comes to bring his seed "in the aeons which had been brought forth, their number being the amount of Sodom. Some say that Sodom is the place of pasture of the great Seth, which is Gomorrah. But others say that the great Seth took his plant out of Gomorrah and planted it in the second place, which he gave the name Sodom".¹²² In the following paragraph Edokla is said to have given birth to this race.¹²³

¹¹⁸ III 55, 16-56, 22 and IV 67, 2-68, 5 (corrupt). See below for Sodom and Gomorrah. For the beginning of this work see: A. Böhlig, *Die Himmlische Welt nach dem Ägypterevangelium*, in: *Le Muséon* LXXX 1967, p. 5-26 and 365-377.

¹¹⁹ III 56, 22-58, 22 and IV 63, 5-70, 4 (corrupt). This can be compared with the *Apocryphon of John* see p. 97.

¹²⁰ III 59, 1-9 (IV is missing).

¹²¹ III 59, 9-60, 2 and IV 71, 1-11.

¹²² III 60, 2-18 and IV 71, 11-30. *Paraphrase of Shem* 28, 34-29, 33, p. 62-65: "Du aber verkünde den Sodomitern schnell deine universale Lehre; denn sie sind deine Glieder." J. Doresse, *Les Livres Secrets* . . . , p. 327-329, draws attention to the place where the Essenes of Qumran are living. These Essenes, who had become Sethian gnostics, speak about their original home. A. Böhlig, *Christentum und Gnosis im Ägypterevangelium von Nag Hammadi*, in: *Christentum und Gnosis*, Aufsätze herausgegeben von W. Eltester, Berlin 1969, p. 1-18, p. 17, refers to this idea; he is right, however, to say: "Ich meine, dass die Erklärung aus der gnostischen Dialektik wahrscheinlicher ist". This can be compared with C. Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften in Koptischer Sprache* . . . , p. 577: "Den Kainiten ist die Lehre von dem Antagonismus zweier Principien . . . eigentümlich, und in diesem Sinne schreiben sie . . . den Gegnern des verfluchten Judengottes z.B. Kain, Korach und seinen Genossen, den Sodomiten, Esau und dem Verräter Judas eine höhere Gnosis zu". In this passage, there is a clear relationship between the name of Seth and the "plant", which ultimately goes back to Hebrew-speaking circles, see. p. 34.

¹²³ III 60, 19-61, 1 and IV 71, 30-72, 10.

The dangers facing the seed of Seth are now described. A flood is sent "as an example for the consummation of the aeon". Then "A conflagration will come upon the earth. And grace will be with those who belong to the race through the prophets and the guardians who guard the life of the race." "Famines will occur and plagues . . . temptations will come, a falsehood of false prophets."¹²⁴ Seth notices what happens and asks for guardians. Four hundred ethereal angels come accompanied by the great Aerosiel and the great Selmechel.¹²⁵

Once again, then, we have the idea of the Sethians threatened by the flood. In this passage in the Gospel of the Egyptians, however, the influence of biblical passages about the apocalyptic future is easily recognizable.¹²⁶

Next Seth himself comes, passing "through the three parousias . . . the flood and the conflagration and the judgement of the archons and the powers and the authorities to save those who went astray". This happens by "reconciliation" and baptism "through the Logos-begotten body which the great Seth prepared for himself, secretly through the virgin".¹²⁷ Baptism is also "established through her (that is, Pronoia). It is the holy baptism that surpasses the heaven, through the incorruptible Logos-begotten one, even Jesus the Living one, even he whom the great Seth has put on. And through him he nailed the powers of the thirteen aeons . . ." ¹²⁸

Then Yesseus, Mazareus, Yessedekus, Jacobus the great and Theopemptos and Isavel, "who preside over the spring of truth, Micheus and Micher and Mnesinous and he who presides over the

¹²⁴ III 61, 1-15 and IV 72, 10-27. Both a flood and a conflagration are mentioned here. This is in accordance with the *Apocalypse of Adam*, see p. 94, but here the flood is the example of the approaching end of the world, which is in accordance with 2 Pet. 3, 5-7. For famines and plagues as signs of the end of the world, see Luke 21, 11, and, for false prophets, see Mark 13, 22 and Matt. 24, 11, cf. *Paraphrase of Shem* 30, 12-18, p. 64-67. In 29, 27-29, p. 64-65 of this writing it is said: "Da aber das geschehen wird, wird Sodom zu Unrecht verbrannt werden durch die schlechte Natur; . . ."

¹²⁵ III 61, 16-63, 4 and IV 72, 27-74, 17.

¹²⁶ See p. 54 for the angels rescuing the Sethians in the *Apocalypse of Adam*.

¹²⁷ III 63, 4-14 and IV 74, 17-29. For the "three parousias", see also *Apocalypse of Adam* 76, 8-11, for the Illuminator *Apocalypse of Adam* 77, 15 and other passages, and for Pronoia *Apocryphon of John* II 30, 32-31, 1, p. 196. Seth's preparation of a body "secretly" for himself may be compared with Ignatius, *Ephes.* XIX 1.

¹²⁸ III 63, 22-64, 4 and IV 75, 11-19. Seth's nailing of the powers is reminiscent of Col. 2, 14.

baptism of the living . . ." appear to the Sethians.¹²⁹ The "ministers of the four lights, the great Gamaliel, the great Gabriel, the great Samblo, and the great Abrasax" are also mentioned in this context. This is followed by a summing up of all the powers who dispense salvation. Among these are "the incorruptible men Adamas, the second Oroiael, the place of the great Seth, and Jesus who possesses the life and who came and crucified that which is in the law, the third Davithe, the place of the sons of Seth . . ." ¹³⁰

The Gospel of the Egyptians closes with the words that "from now on" people will be baptized and never will taste death again.¹³¹ This Gospel has certain special characteristics of its own, despite its many points of agreement with texts mentioned above. Above all, the Christian influence is very strong. There is, however, no Haggadic material referring to Adam and Eve. The treatise basically deals with the continuous attack against the race of Seth and its salvation. This theme has two striking aspects. In the first place, no distinction is made between a period in which the offspring of Seth is saved and a period during which men are still able to choose. Secondly, at the time that the author is writing, this saviour is clearly identified with Seth. Seth passes through the ages in order to save his own race. The Sethians are regarded as a group of people that has always existed and will be helped until the final destruction. The writer identifies himself with the descendants of Seth who, according to the Apocalypse of Adam and the Apocryphon of John, have already been in heaven since the flood. According to these texts, then, there are three groups: the elect (the offspring of Seth), those who are able to choose and can be baptized (the contemporaries) and those who will be rejected. According to the Gospel of the Egyptians, on the other hand, there are only two groups: those who will be saved throughout the ages and those who will be rejected.

In the other Nag Hammadi texts Seth and his generation are mentioned, but never in a historical or quasi-historical setting. In the *Second Tractate of the Great Seth* he acts as a revealer who was

¹²⁹ III 64, 9-19 and IV 75, 24-76, 3. In connection with baptism, the *Apocalypse of Adam* 85, 30-31 lists: Jesseus, Mazareus and Jessedekeus, and *Unbekanntes altgnostisches Werk*, ed. C. Schmidt-W-Till, p. 362, 6-7 says: "Diese sind die Namen der bei dem lebendigen Wasser befindliche Kräfte: Michar und Michev. . ."

¹³⁰ III 64, 25-65, 26 and IV 76, 14-20.

¹³¹ III 65, 26-66, 8 and IV 78, 1-10 (corrupt).

taught and came to inform his "co-pneumatics" and relatives.¹³² If the work entitled the *Paraphrase of Shem* really can be identified with the Paraphrase of Seth and is in fact the same as the treatise mentioned by Hippolytus in connection with the Sethians,¹³³ then we obviously possess a work in which Seth reveals the things that he was told.¹³⁴ According to the work entitled the *Three Steles of Seth*, Seth wrote down on three pillars or steles the things that he was told by Dositheus.¹³⁵ This reminds us of Josephus, according to whom Seth wrote his astrological knowledge on two pillars.¹³⁶ In this treatise, Adam is called Pigeradama and Seth Emmacha Seth.¹³⁷ Nothing is said about Seth and his offspring, but it is obvious that the gnostics believed that they were informed by Seth and were of the same race as he.

There are several other documents in which more is said about Seth, but *Allogenes*, a title which reminds us of a Sethian text mentioned by Epiphanius¹³⁸ is too fragmentary to give any certain information about the ideas with regard to Seth. The same also applies to some extent to *Zostrianos*,¹³⁹ according to which Zostria-

¹³² *Der zweite Logos des grossen Seth*, ed. M. Krause, in: F. Altheim und R. Stiehl, in: *Christentum am Roten Meer* II, Berlin New York 1973, p. 50, 20-24.

¹³³ Cf. Hippolytus, *Refut.* V 22 and see H.-C. Puech, *Lex nouveaux Écrits* . . . , p. 123-124, and especially J.-H. Severin, *A Propos de la "Paraphrase de Sem"*, in: *Le Muséon* LXXXVIII 1975, p. 69-96, p. 75: "Nous admettons donc que la *Paraphrase de Sem* contient, dans sa première partie une œuvre parant de celle qu'il faut sans doute identifier avec la *Paraphrase de Seth* d'Hippolyte, mais qui ne la reproduit pas, n'en dérive pas et n'en est pas la source; au mieux peut-elle dériver plus ou moins directement d'une même source; il est plus probable qu'elle se borne à reproduire l'enseignement d'une même école. . ."

¹³⁴ *Die Paraphrase des Sēm*, ed. M. Krause, in: *Idem*, p. 1, 4-5.

¹³⁵ *Die Drei Stelen des Seth*, ed. M. Krause, in *idem*, p. 118, 10-13; 121, 16-18; 124, 14-16 and 127, 27. See also S. J. Isser, *The Dositheans. A Samaritan Sect in Late Antiquity*, in: *Stud. in Judaism in late Antiquity* XVII, Leiden, 1976, p. 117-118.

¹³⁶ Josephus, *Antiquit.* I 70.

¹³⁷ p. 118, 24-28. The word "Pigeradama" also occurs in the *Apocryphon of John* II 8, 34-35, p. 132, and may be derived from the Aramaic פִּיגְרָא or the Syriac ܦܝܓܪܐ and mean that Adam is the "corporeal one". The "Emmacha" may be derived from ܐܡܡܚܐ servant.

¹³⁸ *Allogenes* is in Codex XI 3 and plates are available in *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices*, published under the Auspices of the Department of Antiquities of the Arab Republic of Egypt, etc., Codices XI, XII and XIII, Leiden 1973. See Epiphanius, *Pan.* 39 5 1. and also Porphyrius, *Vita Plotini* c. 16

¹³⁹ *Zostrianos* is in Codex VIII 1 and not yet published; see M. Krause

nos ascends into a cloud of light,¹⁴⁰ where he receives baptism. Here he meets the sons of Seth.¹⁴¹ This text also mentions a "third illuminator Setheus" who may be identified with Seth.¹⁴² After his visit to the world above, Zostrianos descends again and awakes a lost multitude with the words: "Know those who are living and the holy seed of Seth. Do not disobey me". The rest is not quite clear but it is obvious that Zostrianos is acquainted with a special generation of Sethians.¹⁴³

We do not, for our purpose, need any detailed knowledge of these writings. We are concerned here with treatises which were thought to have been written or revealed by Seth or in which there was information about the chosen generation of Seth. This race may have been a historical phenomenon which existed until the flood or a group which was to be saved at the end of time.

Seth, then, was obviously honoured by many gnostics, but what he meant for them did not always remain the same. This shows how complicated a phenomenon the introduction of Sethian ideas into gnosticism was. We can readily understand, however, that the gnostics were interested in hidden knowledge which went back to the time of Seth, who for this reason was as popular with the gnostics as Melchizedek, Hermes and Adam, to mention only a few well-known figures from the past.

Seth also plays an important part in enabling us to understand the deplorable situation according to which a number of moves and counter-moves were made in the course of the history of mankind. Seth and his offspring belonged to the second and the third generation after the creation of Adam and Eve. This history ended at the time of the fall of the angels and the flood, after which a mixed generation came into being. This generation had to answer a call from the heavenly world and was commanded to be baptized in order to be saved. It cannot be said whether, according to this system, the last group of the saved called themselves Sethians.

and Pahor Labib, *Gnostische und Hermetische Schriften aus Codex II und Codex VI*, in: *Abhandl. des Deutschen Archäol. Inst. Kairo*, Kopt. Reihe Bd. 2, Glückstadt 1971, p. 6, n. 15, who refers to H.-C. Puech, *Les Nouveaux Écrits* . . . , p. 107-108 and 132-134.

¹⁴⁰ 4, 21-23.

¹⁴¹ 7, 8-11.

¹⁴² 126, 1-21. The name Setheus is also found in *Unbekanntes altgnostisches Werk*, see p. 11.

¹⁴³ 130, 14-24.

What they had in common with the "offspring of Seth" or the "seed of Seth" was that they were saved, but in the heavenly world the offspring of Seth is clearly separated from the fourth and last aeon with its "light" Eleleth.

The final step is an identification of the "seed of Seth" with those who are saved here and now. Seth is a saviour who will appear at the end of time and is identified with Jesus. We cannot exclude the possibility that this conviction was influenced by Christian ideas.

c. *Other Gnostic Sects and Writings*

Seth occurs frequently in the Mandaean literature but is named Šitil (שִׁתִּיל). It is, however, very doubtful whether this spelling has anything to do with the Hebrew שֶׁתִּיל, the plant, from which word the name Seth was thought to be derived, at least according to fairly late rabbinical writings.¹⁴⁴

In accordance with the biblical story, Šitil is regarded as Adam's son, but is always mentioned with Hibil (הִיבִיל) and Anōš (אַנוֹשׁ).¹⁴⁵ Apart from this, we do not believe that the beginning of Genesis or the traditions known to Jews or Christians had any influence on Mandaean ideas about Seth. There is a long passage about Adam's death when he was a thousand years old. According to this text, Adam did not want to die and wanted Šitil to be taken up, who was only eighty years old. When Šitil prayed, Adam's eyes were opened, after which he saw the world of light. From then onwards, he was prepared to die.¹⁴⁶ This shows clearly that traditions like those in the *Vita Adae et Evae* concerning Adam's death had no real influence on Mandaean writings.

Šitil was "confirmed" and light was given to him by Ihibil-Ziwa.¹⁴⁷ For this reason he, Ihibil and Anōš were glorious.¹⁴⁸ This, however, applied not only to Hibil, Šitil and Anōš, but also to the

¹⁴⁴ See p. 34. *Ginzā. Der Schatz oder das Grosse Buch der Mandäer*, übersetzt und erklärt von M. Lidzbarski, Göttingen-Leipzig 1925, p. 118, 19: "Šitil, die treffliche Pflanzung. . .", is no indication of this knowledge.

¹⁴⁵ See *Ginzā* p. 127, 14-21 and 243, 29-30.

¹⁴⁶ *Ginzā* p. 427-429.

¹⁴⁷ *Ginzā* p. 146, 1-6, 11 and 24 and 261, 6-9.

¹⁴⁸ *Ginzā* p. 268, 34-35.

entire generation of which they were thought to be the origin¹⁴⁹ and which was the generation of the Nasoraeans.¹⁵⁰

In accordance with the Gospel of the Egyptians, then, the elected or those who possess knowledge are able to trace their origin back to Seth. The Mandaean writings, however, refer not only to Seth, but also to Hibil and Anōš, thus emphasizing that it was more important to belong to a generation than to belong to a particular person.

The Mandaeans also thought that the generation of Seth would not be destroyed during the different disasters—by sword, fire and flood—which were to visit the earth.¹⁵¹

According to Mandaism, moreover, Hibil, Šitil and Anōš were not only the origin of a particular generation, but also heavenly persons, who helped their generation. This is clearly the case in their struggle against Ptahil, the God of creation.¹⁵² But they were especially helpers at the moment of baptism, when they went down to the Jordan with those who were to be baptized.¹⁵³ Finally they were to escort those ascending to heaven via the custom houses.¹⁵⁴

Once again, then, we find the idea that Seth was not only the origin of a generation, but also its saviour at times of disaster in the past and in baptism in the present. Mandaean teaching is therefore very much in accordance in this respect with the Gospel of the Egyptians. Like the author of the Gospel, the Mandaeans do not say explicitly that a particular person or persons belonged to a particular period. Throughout the ages Hibil, Šitil and Anōš return again and again.

¹⁴⁹ It is said of them: רישא דכולה שורבתא; see *Mandäische Liturgien* mitgeteilt, übersetzt und erklärt von M. Lidzbarski, in: *Abhandl. der kön. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl. n.F. XVII, 1. Berlin 1920, p. 41, 11; 13, 3; 106, 5-6 and 144, 10ff; see also *Ginzā* p. 282, 13-14.

¹⁵⁰ *Ginzā* p. 268, 34-35; 320, 9-10 and 424, 15-16, see K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer, I Prolegomena: Das Mandäerproblem*, in: *Forsch. z. Rel. und Lit. des A. und N.T.* 74, Göttingen 1960, p. 112f.

¹⁵¹ *Mand. Lit.* 13, 3 and 144, 10ff; *Ginzā* 260, 2-4 and 268, 7-10. About these disasters: *Ginzā* 27, 19-28, 5; 45, 22-42; 142, 19-22; 259, 31-261, 2; 268, 7-32; 264, 20-26; 408, 24-409, 2 and *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer* II, ed. M. Lidzbarski, Giessen 1915, p. 93 and 244. See also Rudolph, *op. cit.*, I, p. 149, n.8, who shows that it is difficult to attribute the different periods to particular persons.

¹⁵² *Ginzā* p. 109, 14-16.

¹⁵³ *Mand. Lit.* 20, 7-8 and *Ginzā* p. 143, 26-30.

¹⁵⁴ *Ginzā* p. 103, 12-13. It is also said that the three helpers both reveal and teach, *Ginzā* p. 223, 17-20, and that Šitil handed down Kušā. See also Rudolph, *op. cit.*, p. 80-81: "Unter den Erlösergestalten (Gesandten) befindet sich die Dreieheit Hibil, Šitil und Anōš an erster Stelle".

Turning now to another gnostic set, Manichaeism, we have two main sources for this sect's teaching about Seth: the Coptic *Kephalaia*, the Psalm-Book and the Homilies and the Arabic text called *Fihrist*.

The Coptic writings contain several passages on the beginning of Genesis. The creation of Adam and Eve took place when the "Gesandte" revealed his image in the world. The Archons and Powers saw the image and created Adam and Eve. The *Kephalaia* adds that this would not have happened if the "Gesandte" had not wanted it.¹⁵⁵ In another passage, the creators are called the Ἐργήγοροι. These are the same as those who descended to earth and revealed their arts and the mysteries of heaven.¹⁵⁶

When Adam and Eve were placed in paradise, they were forbidden to eat from the tree, so that they could not distinguish the evil from the good.¹⁵⁷ It may be true that Adam was created by the angels but he was taller "gegenüber den vermischten Mächten", since on him was laid the image of the exalted one.¹⁵⁸ His son was called Sethel and he belonged to a generation which reached a great age.¹⁵⁹

These passages tell us nothing about the significance of Seth; he is, however, not only called the "Apostle", but also the "Saviour". As an apostle he is one in the generation of Enosh, Enoch, Shem and Noah continuing to Zarathustra and Jesus.¹⁶⁰ The Psalm-Book contains a number of passages with the injunction to sing to Sethel the Saviour.¹⁶¹

For the Manichaeans, then, Seth was above all the apostle or saviour who appeared throughout the ages until his mission was

¹⁵⁵ *Kephalaia* I, ed. H. Ibscher, Stuttgart 1940, p. 133, 12-20 and p. 135, 20-27. This story is in striking agreement with the *Hypostasis of the Archons* 144, 11-12.

¹⁵⁶ *Kephalaia* 92, 25-30 and 93, 2.

¹⁵⁷ *A Manichaean Psalm-Book* Part II, ed. C. R. C. Allberry and H. Ibscher Stuttgart 1938, p. 57, 7-14, see *Hypostasis of the Archons* 138, 2-10.

¹⁵⁸ *Kephalaia* 157, 5, 6-7 and 12-13. For Adam being tall, see the *Apocalypse of Adam* 64, 16-19.

¹⁵⁹ *Kephalaia* 145, 24-27. The name Sethel reminds us of the Mandaean Šitil.

¹⁶⁰ Psalm-Book 142, 3 and *Kephalaia* 12, 9-19. Cf. also Augustine, c. *Faustum* XIX 3: haec (laws) erant antiquibus in nationibus, . . . olim permulgata per Enoch et Seth et ceteros eorum similes iustos, quibus eadem illustres traderint angeli, temperandae in hominibus gratia feritatis, see F. C. Baur, *Das Manichäische Religionssystem*, Göttingen 1928 (reprint of 1831), p. 366.

¹⁶¹ *Psalm-Book* 144, 1-6 and 146, 12.

fulfilled at the time of the appearance of Mani.¹⁶² We can assume that those belonging to him also are members of his generation.¹⁶³

According to the Arabic Fihrist, Mani wrote about the origin of the World.¹⁶⁴

Greed, lust and sin came from the archons and from these the first man, Adam, originated. He was looked after by a male and a female archon. Next the "beautiful" one Hawwâ, came into being.

These two people possessed God's light, which was secretly taken by Greed. For this reason, five angels asked the Mother of Life, the Original Man and the Spirit of Life, to send them a saviour. Jesus was sent, revealed certain data and asked Adam not to approach Eve.

Although Adam obeyed, the archons begot a son from Eve named Cain, because he was "reddish".¹⁶⁵ Cain begot a son with Eve, called Hâbîl.¹⁶⁶ The same happened again, after which two girls were born, called Ḥakîmat ad-dahr, because she was wise, and Ibnat al-hirs, because she was greedy. One of the girls married Hâbîl and the second married Cain.

An angel had intercourse with Ḥakîmat after which two girls were born, the one named Raufarjâd, meaning "Come to the rescue" and the other Barjafâd being "Bring help". Hâbîl became angry because he believed that Cain was the father of the girls. He complained about Cain to Eve. When Cain heard about this, he killed Hâbîl with a stone¹⁶⁷ and then married Ḥakîmat.

The archon was distressed about what had happened and taught Eve to cast a spell on Adam. He then had intercourse with her after which "a beautiful son" was born. The archon Šindîd said that this creature did not belong to him, because he was an alien.¹⁶⁸ Eve wanted to kill the child, but Adam fed it with milk and fruit.

¹⁶² See also W. Henning, *Ein Manichäisches Henochbuch*, in: *Sitzungsber. der Preuss. Akad. der Wissensch.*, phil.-hist. Kl. 1934, p. 27-35; H.-C. Puech, *Der Begriff der Erlösung im Manichäismus*, in: *Eranos Jahrbuch* 1936, Zürich 1937, p. 183-286, p. 266, and K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer* I, p. 184.

¹⁶³ *Manich. Homilien* 68, 13-19 is corrupt but it refers to "Kain und sein ganzes Geschlecht" and "400000 Gerechte".

¹⁶⁴ G. Flügel, *Mani, Seine Lehre und seine Schriften*, Leipzig 1862, p. 90-93.

¹⁶⁵ It is not clear why Cain is described as "reddish" here.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. *The Mandaean Hibil*. It is doubtful whether this has anything to do with *Genesis Rabbah* XXII 7, p. 187, according to which Cain and Abel quarreled about "the first Eve".

¹⁶⁷ We have already seen that Abel was killed with a stone in *Ps. Jonathan Gen.* 4, 8.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. "another seed" in *Gen.* 4, 25.

Šindīd wanted to take away the milk and fruit, but Adam drew three circles around himself. The child wrote on the first the name of the King of Paradise, on the second the name of the Original Man and on the third the name of the Spirit of Life. He then went to a high place.¹⁶⁹ One of these three came to help Adam and Šindīd and the archons left Adam and the child.

Adam fed the child from the lotus-tree and called him Šhāṭīl.¹⁷⁰ Šindīd asked Eve again to have intercourse with Adam. Šhāṭīl warned Adam and invited him to go to the East, the light and the Wisdom of God. They were joined by Raufarjād, Barjafād, Ḥakīmat and Šiddīkūt, the congregation of the righteous ones. Cain, Eve and the daughter of Greed went to hell.

This is an interesting story which shows some agreement with ideas found in the Cave of Treasures.¹⁷¹ What is striking is that Eve belongs to the party of the Archons.

Finally the name of Seth, here spelt Setheus, occurs a number of times in the *Unbekanntes altgnostisches Werk*,¹⁷² in which he is one of the heavenly beings surrounded by twelve fathers¹⁷³ and lives

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Henning, *Ein Manich. Bet- und Beichtbuch* . . . , p. 48: "... (15) vor dem Šaqlōn trat er, um ihn so anzureden: 'Befehl (der Eva), dass sie ihm (Seth) alsbald (13) Milch gebe!' Da versuchte der Šaqlōn den Adam von der Religion abtrünnig zu machen. . . 21 er sah die Dämonen. Da legte er rasch das Kind auf der Erde und zog (um es) sieben mal sehr weite Kreise (25) und betete zu den Göttern. . ." For the idea of living on a mountain in the Cave of Treasures, see p. 68.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Mandaean Štīl.

¹⁷¹ See H. H. Schaefer, *Urform und Fortbildungen des Manichäischen Systems*, in: *Studien zur Orientalischen Religionsgeschichte*, herausgegeben von C. Colpe, Darmstadt 1968 (orig. 1924/5), p. 15-107, p. 22 (orig. p. 72): "Vom Alten Testament hat er schwerlich direkte Kenntnis, doch weist die merkwürdige Gestaltung einer Legende von Adam und Eva und ihrer Nachkommen, die uns von ihm überliefert ist und zumal die in ihr auffällig hervortretende Bevorzugung des Seth, der hier wie bei den Mandäern Setēl heisst, auf Manis Bekanntschaft mit einer alten apokryphen Adamsliteratur hin. . ."

¹⁷² See *Unbekanntes altgnostisches Werk*, s.v. Setheus, p. 418. See also C. Schmidt, *Gnostische Schriften* . . . , p. 646: "Zwischen beiden Figuren (Seth and Setheus) besteht ohne Zweifel ein Zusammenhang; nur dieses könnte auffallen, dass bei den Sethianern der alttestamentliche Σῆθ verehrt, hier aber stets der Name Σεθεὺς angeführt wird, ohne dass der Verfasser ihn in irgend eine Beziehung zu der historischen Persönlichkeit brächte. Auch ist wohl zu beachten, dass der Setheus hier als ein Ἄνθρωπος figuriert. . ." The author of this work "bedürfte abstrakter Begriffe und mythischer Figuren, alles andere war ihm Nebensache".

¹⁷³ 341, 15, cf. 340, 23.

in the temple as a King and a God.¹⁷⁴ He has clearly lost all contact with the historical setting in which he was originally placed in the beginning of Genesis.

d. *Seth in Gnostic Literature*

Seth also plays an important part in many gnostic writings. To attribute these writings to a sect called Sethians is impossible.¹⁷⁵ Although writings such as the Apocalypse of Adam, the Apocryphon of John and the Gospel of the Egyptians show remarkable similarities, their contents differ widely from the Mandaean and Manichaean writings in which Seth plays an equally important part. On the other hand, we have already seen that Christian authors referred to books "in the name of Seth" in connection with sects which they did not even call Sethian.¹⁷⁶ The name Seth was obviously freely used among a number of ancient gnostic writers.

In the first place, Seth was considered to be a valuable source of information from ante-diluvian times. According to the Apocalypse of Adam, Adam revealed to Seth what was going to happen in the future.¹⁷⁷ This shows an affinity with the *Vita Adae et Evae*, which was, of course, a Jewish writing.¹⁷⁸ The idea that Seth wrote down his information on pillars or steles (see, for example, Josephus¹⁷⁹) was also known among the gnostics. An example of this is The Three Steles of Seth. Finally the idea of a book of Seth lying on a mountain as (see, for example Pseudo-Chrysostom¹⁸⁰) can also be found in the Gospel of the Egyptians.¹⁸¹ Although this makes Seth no more than a mysterious figure from the past, it also shows that the gnostics derived their ideas from Jewish sources.

¹⁷⁴ 343, 34-35.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Böhlig-Labib, *op. cit.*, p. 87: "Wenn es auch eine besondere gnostische Gruppe der Sethianer gab, sein Name und seine Bedeutung waren weit über die Grenzen einer Sekte hinaus bekannt. . .". K. Rudolph, *Gnosis und Gnostizismus*. . ., p. 61 but especially F. Wisse, *The Sethians and the Nag Hammadi Library*, in: *Proceedings of the Soc. of Biblical Literature* 2 1972, p. 601-607, p. 607.

¹⁷⁶ According to Epiphanius, *Pan.* 26 8 1, ed. Kroll I, p. 284, the *Gnostici* used books "in the name of Seth" and 40 7 4, p. 88, the *Archontici* also used "Books in (εἰς) the name of Seth" and others "in (εἰς) his name and his seven sons".

¹⁷⁷ *Apocalypse of Adam* 67, 14-16 and 85, 23-24.

¹⁷⁸ See p. 17.

¹⁷⁹ See p. 25.

¹⁸⁰ See p. 58.

¹⁸¹ *Gospel of the Egyptians* III 68, 1-6 and IV 80, 15-19 (corrupt).

When we were considering books of Seth according to Christian authors, we noticed that information about the past from Seth was not popular among Christians. This source of information was relegated to the Magi. The gnostics, on the other hand, clearly welcomed this information even if the name of Seth is not even mentioned in the writings of Seth.¹⁸²

But he is much more than a mere revealer. In a number of writings, he is the bearer of the divine seed, a kind of second creation after the failure of the creation of Adam and Eve by Ialdabaoth. The origin of Seth is explained in different ways. According to Pseudo-Tertullian, Seth was a creation of the Mother. According to such sources as Epiphanius (on the Sethians and the *Archontici*) and the Apocryphon of John, Seth was a son of Adam and Eve, unlike Cain and Abel, who were children of the devil. The Apocalypse of Adam is reticent about Seth's origin. In passages about Adam and Eve and their children, there is clearly an extensive influence from original Jewish sources. The Haggadic influence is conspicuous in the Apocalypse of Adam and the Apocryphon of John. It is impossible to say whether the gnostics were drawing on one particular source with specific ideas of Seth. They were in fact continuously at work on Seth using the information which was available.

It is also clear that many authors were interested in Seth's offspring or seed. Pseudo-Tertullian and Epiphanius give the impression that they were writing about people who believed that they belonged to the same *semen purum* to which Seth himself belonged. Jesus also belonged to this same generation. Both those to be saved and their saviour were of the same generation. This is not, however, equally evident. The author of the Apocalypse of Adam was certainly not trying to show that the offspring of Seth would be saved throughout the ages. His descendants were called by names like "those to whom the revelation has come";¹⁸³ "those who are from Eve";¹⁸⁴ "another generation";¹⁸⁵ "people who originated from the great Gnosis",¹⁸⁶ and those who "were elected

¹⁸² Cf. *The Three Steles of Seth and The Second Tractate of the Great Seth*.

¹⁸³ *Apocalypse of Adam* 69, 12-15.

¹⁸⁴ 69, 15-16.

¹⁸⁵ 71, 19.

¹⁸⁶ 73, 18.

from all aeons".¹⁸⁷ This clearly shows that the author did not recognize himself in Seth.

The Apocryphon of John says that Seth and his offspring were situated in different aeons and with different "lights". But here we also find another group of "souls who were converted later".¹⁸⁸ This last group which has to be baptized and which consists of those living at the time of the author can be compared with those to whom the Apocalypse of Adam is addressed. They can be distinguished from those who were saved at an earlier time from the flood and the fire. These were taken up into heaven. This idea occurs both in the Apocalypse of Adam and the Apocryphon of John.¹⁸⁹ We might suppose that, according to the Apocryphon of John, this group of righteous people living before the general deterioration that followed the flood can be identified with the offspring of Seth.

This would agree with the opinion generally accepted in Judaism, according to which the two generations of Cain and Seth were still in existence until the flood, but ceased to exist after the flood.

Finally, we have seen that the Gospel of the Egyptians discussed the Sethians up to the present time, since they were saved in the past and would be saved in the future. We are therefore concerned here with one generation. This is in accordance with the descriptions of the Sethians given by Pseudo-Tertullian.

In addition to the ideas about the offspring of Seth, the significance of Seth as a saviour also changes. It is difficult to maintain that Seth is a saviour if we consider the Apocalypse of Adam. He belongs to the same divine world as the Illuminator. This Illuminator appeared three times, at the time of the flood and the fire and at the end of time, but it is very significant that he is never called Seth.¹⁹⁰ It should also be noted that the end of this text tells

¹⁸⁷ 82, 21-22. Thus we disagree with W. Beltz, *Bemerkungen zur Adam-apokalypse aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex V*, in: *Studia Coptica*, herausgegeben von P. Nagel, Berlin 1974, p. 159-163, p. 161: "Die AA ist ... eine Einführungsschrift in die Gnosis, und zwar in ein Sethianisches System, geschrieben für Anfänger".

¹⁸⁸ See p. 97.

¹⁸⁹ H.-M. Schenke, *Das Sethianische System nach Nag-Hammadi-Handschriften*, in: *idem* p. 165-173, p. 167: "Wohl aber dürfte zur sethianischen Gnosis wesentlich eine bestimmte Geschichtsspekulation, eine Periodisierung der Vergangenheit, eine Weltzeitalterlehre gehören". We, however, differ from Schenke in a number of details.

¹⁹⁰ L. Schottroff, *Animae naturaliter* ..., writes on p. 79: "Abgesehen

us that "This is the hidden Gnosis of Adam given to Seth".¹⁹¹ It is hardly possible to imagine that this can be said about a saviour!

The same idea of the threefold appearance occurs in the Apocryphon of John, but here it is also not Seth who appeared, but Pronoia.¹⁹² It is only in the Gospel of the Egyptians and the work of Pseudo-Tertullian that Seth is said to be a saviour at the end of time, but both texts identify him with Jesus. In contrast with the other texts, this is a clear development.

This does not mean, on the one hand, that these gnostic writings do not describe a divine figure passing through the ages and continuously helping his own. On the other hand, however, it is certainly not true that the origin of such a person has to be sought among the sources dealing with Seth.¹⁹³ Seth was clearly introduced into an already existing system.

It is possible to follow, both in Mandaean and Manichaean sources, the development of the significance of Seth as seen from the other gnostic writings. The Mandaean texts, clearly reveal the idea of different periods in the history of the world marked by disasters.¹⁹⁴ The people of these periods were saved. There was a gradual deterioration but it was still possible to be saved in the present time by baptism. In agreement with the later development, Šitil, now together with Hibil and Anōš, were to pass through the ages to help their own. The same applies to the Manichaean sources, according to which Seth was the first of a series of saviour who passed through the ages. The last of these saviours was Mani.

All this shows that there was a gradual process of development in the writings of the gnostics. It is certainly true that Seth assumed an increasing importance in certain texts. Beginning as the representative of the divine world at a certain point at the origin of creation he became the first of his generation which was important until the flood and then became the first of a whole generation of the elect. In this capacity, he assumed the role of saviour not only of his offspring but also of the entire generation of the saved.

von der durch Textverderbnis unklaren Stelle 77, 1 wird Seths Name zwar nur innerhalb der Rahmenhandlung (Offenbarung, die Adam an seinen Sohn Seth weitergibt) explizit erwähnt". But if this is true why is it necessary to say: "Seth ist also Urmensch und Erlöser". It is clear that he is not!

¹⁹¹ 85, 22-24.

¹⁹² *Apocalypse of John* II 30, 31-31, 1, p. 196.

¹⁹³ See Schottroff, *op. cit.*

¹⁹⁴ See p. 108.

It is not possible to claim in this case that the origin of a development can give us any idea about the sources from which the ideas was taken. We are therefore bound to conclude that the gnostics constantly adapted ideas taken from their environment. It is interesting to see how closely they kept to the idia of fallen angels in accordance with the LXX. Many of their other ideas can also be explained by this.¹⁹⁵ The stories about Adam and Eve show that they also had access to Haggadic material.¹⁹⁶ The Christian influence on a text such as the Gospel of the Egyptians is also evident. Seth is said here to have taken his body from a virgin,¹⁹⁷ but apart from this orthodox idea we cannot exclude Jewish Christian ideas about Jesus passing through the ages.¹⁹⁸

The idea that there were different periods during the history of mankind shows the influence both of Babylonian concept of a periodical disaster and of the biblical stories of the flood and the burning of Sodom and Gomorrah. The taking away of the offspring of Seth at the time of the flood was clearly derived from Jewish sources, which up to that time taught first that there were two generations and then that a mixed race came about, a teaching which was entirely in accordance with the gnostic sources.

This leads us to the final question as to whether we can really speak of a sect known as the "Sethian" among the Jews. The simple answer is that since we cannot speak of "Sethians" among the gnostics it would be surprising to find them among the Jews. This does not, however, solve the question of the origin of the ideas about Seth.

We may say that almost all the gnostic ideas about Seth can be found in Jewish writings. The guarded attitude of both Jews and Christians is not discernable among the gnostics. This does not, however, mean that there were no important developments in Jewish circles. We only have to remind ourselves of what took place in the Samaritan teaching about a chain of purity passing from Seth down through the ages.¹⁹⁹ Philo also taught that there was a generation of the righteous who were able to trace their descentance

¹⁹⁵ This was emphasized by W. C. van Unnik, *Die jüdische Komponente in der Entstehung der Gnosis*, in: *Vig. Christ.* 15 1961, p. 65-82.

¹⁹⁶ See Pearson, *Jewish Haggadic Traditions in the Testimony of Truth*. . .

¹⁹⁷ *Gospel of the Egyptians* III 63, 10-14 and IV 74, 25-30.

¹⁹⁸ See H. J. Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums*, Tübingen 1949, p. 87-116.

¹⁹⁹ See p. 30.

back to Seth.²⁰⁰ This shows a close similarity with the gnostic ideas about Seth. Does this, however, indicate that these writings were influenced by the Samaritans and by Philo? In my opinion, we are simply dealing with similar ideas in a more or less developed stage. Such ideas were able to develop much more easily in gnostic circles than in orthodox Judaism. This does not mean, however, that the same ideas were not present in both environments.¹²¹

²⁰⁰ See p. 26-27.

²⁰¹ See A. Böhlig, *Der jüdische Hintergrund in gnostischen Texten von Nag Hammadi*, in: *Mysterion und Wahrheit*, Leiden 1968, p. 80-101, p. 101: "Eines kann aber heute bereits gesagt werden, dass die Gnosis mit der Umwertung der religiösen Traditionen aus dem Judentum zwar Vorstellungen übernommen, aber aus ihnen neues geschaffen hat. Es darf dabei nicht unterschätzt werden, wieviele Anhaltspunkte gerade das Judentum der Gnosis gegeben hat".

CHAPTER SIX

FINAL CONCLUSIONS

In this work we have discussed the part played by Seth in Jewish, Christian and gnostic literature. At the same time, we have also observed how this affected relationships between Jews, Christians and gnostics. A few conclusions can be summarized in this final chapter.

One striking aspect of the whole question of Seth is that Jewish Haggadic material was a constant source of ideas for both Christians and gnostics, but it was used quite differently by each of the three groups.

In Jewish literature, the stories about Seth came about partly as a result of exegetical deductions and partly as a result of curiosity about the past. The teaching that the devil was the father of Cain or even of both Cain and Abel and that the two generations of Cain and Seth were separated is simply an attempt to solve a number of problems in the text of Genesis. Again, Seth's astrological knowledge or his presence at Adam's burial are discussed by Josephus and the author of the *Vita Adae et Evae* because of the need to know about the origin of mankind. These are basically isolated stories which do not touch on fundamental Jewish issues and can be omitted or elaborated at random.

The only idea about Seth which is of much wider importance is that his generation represents the righteous throughout the ages. This fundamental idea is present in the Apocalypse of Enoch and was taught by Philo and the Samaritans. It was never fully reconciled with the other widely accepted idea of a general corruption which caused the flood.

Christians took over those aspects of the Jewish teaching which they were able to use. Neither the birth of Cain and Abel from the devil nor the special generation of Sethites passing throughout the ages were used by them, for reasons that are not difficult to understand. Christians were reluctant to accept the possibility of angels or devils having more than a spiritual influence upon men and consequently rejected the idea of angels having intercourse with women. The ideas of a special generation of the righteous was also

radically opposed to the Christian conviction that God called individuals to conversion.

This idea does not mean that all Jewish Haggadic elements are absent from Christian literature. These ideas were, however, mainly confined to Christians living in the East, where storytelling was an art. They are also found in commentaries. Interest in Seth and his generation ceased, however, after the flood, since Christians continued to believe that it was caused by the intercourse of Sethites and Cainites, resulting in a mixed race.

Finally, we may add that Christians only spoke about the books written by Seth in connection with the Magi, who were informed by those books about the coming of Christ.

In gnostic literature, we observed an emphasis on information thought to have been passed down from Seth to his generation. The gnostics were not interested in stories from the past simply for their own sake. They believed that the Haggadic elements formed an integral part of man's origin and destiny, that life was governed by the conflict between forces and that man had to know where he stood in the struggle. The origin of this battle was connected with the creation of mankind and the gnostics did not fail to show this with help of Jewish Haggadic material. It is remarkable that they were also able to make use of the idea of a special generation of the righteous, a theme developed by the Jews and Samaritans but neglected by Christians.

This brings us to the final question of the historical relationship between the three groups.

In discussing this relationship, we have to start from the assumption that Christians and gnostics possessed a greater number of strong convictions than the Jews. This applies especially to gnostic writings. They never adapted ideas taken from their environment simply for their own sake. Such ideas were rigorously integrated into their own systems of thought. It was in this way that they made use of Jewish Haggadic material. We might say that they certainly used Jewish material, but that they used it in a thoroughly distinctive way. It lost its historical setting and was fully integrated into the gnostic theological system. We should not come to any hasty conclusions about the origins of gnosticism simply because some Jewish Haggadic elements are present in certain gnostic treatises. We cannot, however, deny that both the Jews and the gnostics believed that there was a special

generation throughout the ages. The relationship, however, was obviously limited to Philo and the Samaritans, since it is only in their writings that the idea of Seth as "another seed" is found.

Like the Jews, Christians used Haggadic material for its own sake. They were, therefore interested in stories about the past. But because they were principally concerned with Christ and the revelation documented in the New Testament, they were not theologically interested in Seth and his generation.

APPENDIX I

*Water and Fire*¹

In Josephus, *Antiquitates* I 69-71 and the *Vita Adae et Evae* XLIX 3-L 2 we read about the coming destruction by fire and water or by water and fire. In a discussion of these passages, we reached the conclusion that these disasters cannot be explained from the biblical stories about the flood and Sodom and Gomorrah.² In the *Apocalypse of Adam* 70, 4-6 and 75, 9-15 we also read about a destruction by water which was identified with the biblical flood, and by fire, in which connection nothing was said about Sodom and Gomorrah. We are obviously dealing here with a tradition about disasters caused by fire and water or by water and fire which were originally not regarded as final destructions. We saw that they were identified with biblical stories. Sometimes the destruction by fire was considered to be the final conflagration. This was the case in the Gospel of the Egyptians III 61, 1-5 and IV 72, 10-15.

The idea of a periodical destruction of the earth by water and fire or by fire and water can be found in Plato, *Timaeus* 21E-22E, a work which had a considerable influence on both pagan and Christian authors.

The story in Plato can be summarized as follows. According to Critias, Solon visited Egypt and wanting to talk about ancient times began to tell the priests of the city of Sais about Phoroneus and Niobe and the story of Deucalion and Pyrrha. The Egyptian priests, however, replied that the Greeks were mere children. They forgot that there were in the past and be in the future certain destructions, the greatest by fire and water. The story of Phaeton was a fable, but the truth was that "a deviation (*παράλλαξις*) of the bodies that revolved in heaven round the earth causes a destruction, occurring at long intervals, of things on earth by a great conflagration". The priests went on to say that especially those living on high mountains would perish, but that the inhabitants of Egypt were preserved by the Nile. At other times the gods cleansed

¹ This Appendix is not meant to be a thorough study of the subject, but should be seen as an expanded footnote.

² See p. 25.

the earth with a flood of waters. At such times, the inhabitants of cities near the sea were swept away. In Egypt, however, the water did not fall from above, which was why traditions dating back to the time before the great disasters were saved in that country.³

The story was known to Philo. In his *De Abrahamo* 1, he stated that the Book of Genesis spoke, among other things, of "the great disasters on earth by fire and water". In *De Vita Mosis* II 263, he taught that the people forgot the sabbath because of the various destructions by water and fire. In the same work (53-95), he also discussed a destruction by fire which was obviously identified with the story about Sodom and Gomorrah at a second stage. Even *b. Sanh.* 108b refers to a flood of water and a flood of fire.⁴

In *c. Celsum* I 19-20 and IV 9-13; 20-21 and 79, there is an interesting discussion between Origen and Celsus. In the first of these passages (I 19-20), they discuss whether the earth was created or not. Celsus observes that belief in creation can be expected in case of people who accept periodical disasters, since this prevents them from knowing the past. In the last text (IV 79), Celsus states that before the existence of cities and culture men were caught by animals, contrary to the story of Genesis, but in agreement with Lucretius V 990-991. Origen says that this is unbecoming since it is spoken by somebody who believes that the earth was not created and visited by periodical disasters. In this context, it is impossible to say that something happened "at the beginning". In the second and third passages (IV 9-13 and 19-21), Origen and Celsus discuss the last judgement. According to Celsus, this is not strange since the Greeks also claimed: ὅτι δὴ κατὰ χρόνων μακρῶν κύκλους καὶ ἔστρων ἐπανόδους τε καὶ συνόδους ἐκπυρώσεις καὶ ἐπικλύσεις συμβαίνουσι, καὶ ὅτι μετὰ τὸν τελευταῖον ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμὸν ἡ περίοδος κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἀμοιρὴν ἐκπύρωσιν ἀπατεῖ· ταῦτ' αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν ἐσφαλμένη δόξη λέγειν ὅτι ὁ θεὸς καταβήσεται δίκην βασιανιστοῦ πῦρ φέρων (IV 11). Here Celsus speaks about the flood and fire in a way which was acceptable to Christians. The same idea occurs in IV 20, where Celsus says that God has to punish people ἀνάλογον τῷ πρώτῳ συμβάντι κατακλυσμῷ. But Origen replies that Christians do not derive their knowledge from the Greeks, since Moses was living at the time of Inachus, the

³ See also Plato, *Leges* 676B-677C, and F. Boll, C. Bezold, W. Gunkel, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung*, Stuttgart-Darmstadt 1974⁵, p. 93 and 200-205.

⁴ ed. Goldschmidt IX, p. 214.

father of Phoroneus (IV 11). This is a powerful argument, since, according to Plato, the stories about Phoroneus were the earliest that the Greek were able to remember. Origen adds that the disasters were not caused by the position of the stars but by the wickedness of mankind (IV 12).⁵

The idea of a periodical disaster was therefore widely known in Jewish and Christian literature. Plato's *Timaeus* can usually be accepted as the source of this tradition. It is, however, obvious that Plato was dependent on earlier traditions. It is generally accepted that he was influenced by Babylonian ideas of the great year. Seneca, *Nat. Hist.* III 29, referring to Berosus, had this to say about these ideas: *Quidam existimant terram quoque concuti et dirupto solo nova fluminum capita detegere, quae amplius ut e pleno profundant. Berosus, qui Belum interpretatus est, ait ista cursu siderum fieri; adeo quidam affirmat, ut conflagrationi atque diluvio tempus assignet; arsura enim terrena contendit, quandoque omnia sidera, quae nunc diversos agunt cursus, in Cancrum convenerint (sic sub eodem posita vestigio, ut recta linea exire per orbem omnium possit); inundationem futurum, cum eadem siderum turba in Capricornum convenerit. Illic solstitium, hic bruma conficitur; magnae potentiae signa, quando in ipsa mutatione anni momenta sunt.*⁶

This idea clearly originally belonged to astrology as practised in the East. It was introduced into the West, obviously by the writings of Berosus. It was adapted by the Greeks, who identified the disasters with those of Deucalion and Phaeton, and by Jews and Christians who identified them with the flood and the story of Sodom and Gomorrah. The idea of a devastating fire appealed to the Stoics.⁷

⁵ The passage in Plato is also referred to in Clement of Alex., *Strom.* V 9 5, Orosius, *adv. Paganos* libri VII I 9 1-3, ed. L. Langemeister, in: *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.* V, p. 53-54, cf. Lactantius, *Div. Instit. Lib.* II 10 22-25, ed. S. Brandt et G. Laubmann, in: *Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.* XIX, p. 151.

⁶ See P. Schnabel, *Berosus und die Babylonisch-Hellenistische Literatur*, Berlin 1923.

⁷ See Censorius, *De Die Natali* XVIII 10; Lydus, *De Mensibus* III 16; Proclus, *In Timaeum* 271A and Gennadius, *Anecdota Graeca Theol.*, ed. Jahn p. 38. See also J. Bidez, *Bérose et la Grande Année*, in: *Mélanges P. Frédéricq. Hommage de la Société pour le Progrès des Études Philologiques et Historiques*, Bruxelles 1904, p. 9-19; A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, Leipzig 1913, p. 193; F. Cumont, *La Fin du Monde selon les Mages Occidentaux*, in: *Rev. de l'Hist. des Rel.* 103 1931, p. 28-96, cf. p. 36, and J. Bidez, *Les Écoles Chaldéennes sous Alexandre et les Séleucides*,

Both Josephus and the author of the *Vita Adae et Evae* stated that, because of the coming disasters, Seth had to write down his knowledge in order to preserve it for a later generation. This is not necessarily an integral part of the idea of constantly recurring disasters. It was, however, an ancient Babylonian idea mentioned by Eusebius in his Chronicle. Apparently it went back to Alexander Polyhistor who spoke of writings kept in a safe place during the flood.⁸ It is, however, doubtful whether this is a satisfactory explanation of the story in Josephus and the *Vita Adae et Evae*, since there are also Egyptian traditions about Thoth or Hermes writing on pillars before the flood.⁹ Josephus mentions such pillars and we may therefore for this reason especially accept the existence of Egyptian influence.

in: *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* t. III 1935, Volume offert à Jean Capert, p. 41-89.

⁸ See Eusebius, *Die Chronik*, ed. J. Karst, in: Eusebius V, in: *Griech. Christl. Schriftst.*, Leipzig 1911, p. 10-12.

⁹ Syncellus, p. 72-73 quotes from Manetho speaking about "pillars" present ἐν τῇ Σηριαδικῇ γῇ . . . διαλέκτω καὶ ἱερογραφικοῖς γράμμασι κεχαρκτηρισμένων ὑπὸ Θῶθ τοῦ πρώτου Ἑρμοῦ. After the flood they were translated εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν γράμμασιν ἱερογλυφικοῖς, καὶ ἀποτεθέντων ἐν βιβλίοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγαθοδαίμονος υἱοῦ τοῦ δευτέρου Ἑρμοῦ, πατρὸς δὲ τοῦ Τάτ. Cf. also *Excerptum* XXIII 5 of Stobaeus, ed. A. J. Festugière et A.-D. Nock, in: *Corpus Hermeticum* t. IV Paris 1954, p. 2: τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ὁ πάντα γινούς Ἑρμῆς· δὲ καὶ εἶδε τὰ σύμπαντα καὶ ἰδὼν κατενόησε καὶ κατανοήσας ἰσχυρὸς δηλῶσαι τε καὶ δεῖξαι. καὶ γὰρ ἂ ἐνόησεν ἐχάραξε καὶ χαράξας ἔκρυψε, τὰ πλεῖστα σιγήσας ἀσφαλῶς ἢ λαλήσας, ἵνα ζητῇ ταῦτα πᾶς αἰὼν ὁ μεταγενέστερος κόσμος.

APPENDIX II

APPENDIX II

	<i>Sethians</i>	<i>Archontici</i>	<i>Apoc. of Adam</i>
Adam and Eve	created by angels (Epiph.)		created by creator-god; A. received glory from E.; taller than angels; separated; knowledge by tree of knowledge
Cain and Abel	by angels (Ps.- Tert.); Cain kills Abel	from devil and Eve; Cain kills Abel because of sister	
Seth	from "Mother" to evacuate angels; born with Oraia (Epiph.)	from Adam and Eve; ascended to heaven and returned	
flood	by "Mother"; Ham responsible for continuation of wickedness		rain predicted by Adam; those "from Eve" in cloud
fire			fire, brimstone, asphalt; predicted by Adam; light people in cloud
after flood			Shem, Ham, Japheth and 12 kingdoms

APPENDIX II

<i>Apocr. of John</i>	<i>Gosp. of Egypt.</i>	<i>Paraphr. of Shem</i>	<i>Hyp. of Arch.</i>
A. motionless; into matter, body made for him; into paradise; E. from A.			A. created by archons; into paradise; E. from A. A. knowledge from E.
from archons and Eve			from A. and E.
from A. and E.			from A. and E.
Noah in cloud	to destroy Sethians	to destroy people of Shem	by archons; Demiurge asks Noah to go into ark
	in future with other apocalyptic disasters	with apocalyptic disasters; Sodom will be burnt	
corruption after coming of angels			Noreah receives revelation from Eleleth

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MODERN AUTHORS

- Alexander, P. S., *The Targumim and early Exegesis of "Sons of God" in Genesis 6*, in: *Journ. of Jewish Stud.* 23, 1972, p. 60-71.
- Aptowitzer, V., *Kain und Abel in der Agada*, in: *Veröffentl. der A. Kohut Memorial Foundation* Bd. 1, Wien und Leipzig 1922.
- Bamberger, J., *Die Literatur der Adambücher und seine haggadischen Elemente in der syrischen Schatzhöhle*, Aschaffenburg 1901.
- Bardenhewer, O., *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur* I-V, Freiburg im Breisgau 1913-1932².
- Baur, F. C., *Das Manichäische Religionssystem*, Göttingen 1928 (repr. 1831).
- Beltz, W., *Samaritanertum und Gnosis*, in: *Gnosis und Neues Testament* herausgegeben v. K.-W. Tröger, Gütersloh 1973, p. 89-95.
- Beltz, W., *Bemerkungen zur Adamapokalypse aus Nag-Hammadi-Codex V*, in: *Studia Coptica*, herausgegeben von P. Nagel, Berlin 1974, p. 159-163.
- Bidez, J., *Bérosee et la Grande Année*, in: *Mélanges P. Frédrig. Hommage de la Soc. pour le Progrès des Études Philologiques et Historiques*, Bruxelles 1904, p. 9-19.
- Bidez, J., *Les Écoles Chaldéennes sous Alexandre et les Séleucides*, in: *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* t. III 1935. *Volume offert à Jean Capart*, p. 41-89.
- Bidez, J. et Cumont, F., *Les Mages Hellénisés. Zoroastre, Ostons et Hystaspe d'après la Tradition grecque*, Paris 1938, 2 volumes.
- Böhlig, A., *Der jüdische Hintergrund in gnostischen Texten von Nag Hammadi*, in: *Mysterion und Wahrheit*, Leiden 1968, p. 80-101.
- Böhlig, A., *Jüdisches und Iranisches in der Adamsapokalypse der Codex V von Nag Hammadi*, in: *Mysterion und Wahrheit*, Leiden 1968, p. 149-161.
- Boll, F., Bezold, C. und Gundel, W., *Stern Glaube und Sterndeutung*, Darmstadt 1974 (repr. 1966³).
- Bousset, W., *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen 1907.
- Bousset, W. und Gressmann, H., *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, Tübingen 1926³.
- Bowman, J., *The Doctrine of Creation, Fall of Man and Original Sin in Samaritan and Pauline Theology*, in: *Reformed Theol. Rev.* 19, 1960, p. 65-72.
- Bowman, J., *Samaritanische Probleme*, Stuttgart 1967.
- Charles, R. H., *Eschatology*, New York 1963 (repr. 1913²).
- Closen, G. E., *Die Sünde der "Söhne Gottes". Gen. 6, 1-4*, in: *Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici*, Rome 1937.
- Cumont, F., *La Fin du Monde selon les Mages Occidentaux*, in: *Revue de l'Hist. des Rel.* 103, 1931, p. 28-96.
- Dexinger, F., *Sturz der Göttersöhne oder Engel vor der Sintflut?*, in: *Wiener Beitr. zur Theol.* 13, Wien 1966.
- Doresse, J., *Nouveaux Aperçus Historiques sur les Gnostiques Coptes; Ophites et Séthiens*, in: *Bull. de l'Institut d'Égypte* t. XXX. Session 1947-1948. Le Caire 1949, p. 409-419.
- Doresse, J., *Les Livres secrets des Gnostiques d'Égypte*, Paris 1958.
- Eissfeldt, O., *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Tübingen 1965¹⁰.
- Festugière, A.-J., *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste et les Cultes Sciences Occultes*, Paris 1950².

- Flügel, G., *Mani. Seine Lehre und seine Schriften*, Leipzig 1862.
- Gelzer, H., *Julius Africanus und die Byzantinische Chronographie*, Leipzig 1898.
- Ginzberg, L., *The Legends of the Jews I-VII*, Philadelphia 1946-1971.
- Ginzberg, L., *Die Hagada bei den Kirchenvätern und in der apokryphischen Literatur*, in: *Monatschr. f. Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judentums* 13, 1899.
- Giversen, S., *The Apocryphon of John and Genesis*, in: *Studia Theol.* 17, 1963, p. 60-76.
- Die Gnosis I und II*. Unter Mitwirkung von E. Haenchen und M. Krause eingeleitet, übersetzt und erläutert von W. Foerster. Herausgegeben von C. Andresen, Zürich und Stuttgart 1969-1971.
- Götze, A., *Die Nachwirkung der Schatzhöhle*, in: *Zeitschr. für Semitische und verwandte Gebiete* 2, 1923, p. 52-94 und 3, 1924, p. 53-71 und 153-177.
- Grünbaum, M., *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leiden 1893.
- Haag, H., 12 in: *Theol. Wörterb. z. Alten Testament* I, c. 670-682.
- Hidal, S., *Interpretatio Syriaca. Die Kommentare des Heiligen Ephräm des Syrers zu Genesis und Exodus mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer Auslegungsgeschichtlichen Stellung*, in: *Coniectanea Biblica, Old Testament Series* 6, Lund 1974.
- Isser, S. J., *The Dositheans. A Samaritan Sect in Late Antiquity*, in: *Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity* 17, Leiden 1976.
- Janssens, Y., *Le Thème de la Fornication des Anges*, in: *Le Origini dello Gnosticismo*, in: *Studies in the History of Religions* 12, Leiden 1967.
- Jeremias, A., *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, Leipzig 1913.
- Jeremias, J., *Golgotha*, in: *ATTEAOE I*, Leipzig 1926.
- Johnson, M. D., *The Purpose of the Biblical Genealogies*, in: *Soc. of New Testament Stud.*, Monograph Series 8, Cambridge 1969.
- Jonas, H., *Gnosis und Spätantiker Geist I*, Göttingen 1964.
- Jonge, M. de, *The Greek Testaments and the Armenian Version*, in: M. de Jonge, *Studies in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, in: *Studia Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 3, Leiden 1975, p. 120-139.
- Junker, H., *Zur Erklärung von Gen. 6, 1-4*, in: *Biblica* 16, 1935, p. 205-214.
- Kasser, R., *Textes Gnostiques. Remarques à propos des Éditions récentes de Livre Secret de Jean et des Apocalypses de Paul, Jacques et Adam*, in: *Le Muséon* 68, 1965, p. 71-98.
- Kippenberg, H. G., *Garizim und Synagoge*, in: *Religionsgesch. Versuche u. Vorarb.* XXX, Berlin-New York 1971.
- Klijn, A. F. J., *The "Single One" in the Gospel of Thomas*, in: *Journ. of Bibl. Lit.* 81, 1962, p. 271-278.
- Korteweg, Th., *Further Observations on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, in: M. de Jonge, *Studies in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, in: *Studia Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 3, Leiden 1975, p. 161-173.
- Köster, H. und Robinson, J. M., *Entwicklungslinien durch die Welt des frühen Christentums*, Tübingen 1971.
- MacDonald, J., *The Theology of the Samaritans*, London 1964.
- Monneret de Villard, U., *Le Legende orientale sui Magi Evangelici*, in: *Studi e Testi* 163, Città del Vaticano 1952.
- Pearson, R. A., *Jewish Haggadic Traditions in the Testimony of Truth from Nag Hammadi (CG IX, 3)*, in: *Ex Orbe Religionum, Studia G. Widengren oblata* I, in: *Studies in the History of Religions* 21, Leiden 1972, p. 457-470.

- Pétrément, S., *Le Colloque de Messina et le Problème du Gnosticisme*, in: *Rev. de Métaphysique et de Morale* 72, 1967, p. 344-373.
- Procksch, O., *Die Genesis*, in: *Kommentar zum Alten Testament* I, Leipzig 1924.
- Puech, H.-C., *Fragments retrouvés de l'Apocalypse d'Allogène*, in: *Mélanges Franz Cumont* II, Bruxelles 1936, p. 935-962.
- Puech, H.-C., *Der Begriff der Erlösung im Mandäismus*, in: *Eranos Jahrbuch* 1936, Zürich 1937, p. 183-286.
- Puech, H.-C., *Archontiker*, in: *Reallex. für Antike und Christentum* I, c. 683-643.
- Puech, H.-C., *Les nouveaux Écrits Gnostiques découverts en Haute-Égypte*, in: *Coptic Studies in honour of Walter Ewing Crum*, Boston 1950, p. 91-154.
- Quasten, J., *Patrology* I-III, Utrecht Brussels 1950-1960.
- Quinn, E. C., *The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Life*, Chicago 1967.
- Rappaport, S., *Agada und Exegese bei Flavius Josephus*, Wien 1930.
- Reinink, G. J., *Das Problem des Ursprungs des Testaments Adams*, in: *Orient Christ. Anal.* 197, 1974, p. 387-388.
- Reinink, G. J., *Das Land "Seris" (Sir) und das Volk der Serer in jüdischen und christlichen Tradition*, in: *Journ. for the Study of Judaism* 6, 1975, p. 72-85.
- Reitzenstein, R., *Poimandres*, Leipzig 1904.
- Rudolph, K., *Die Mandäer I. Prolegomena; Das Mandäerproblem*, in: *Forsch. z. Rel. u. Lit. des A. und N. T.* 74, Göttingen 1960.
- Rudolph, K., *Gnosis und Gnostizismus. Ein Forschungsbericht*, in: *Theol. Rundschau*, n. F. 34, 1969, p. 121-175, 181-231, 308-361.
- Schaeder, H. H., *Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems*, in: *Studien zur orientalischen Religionsgeschichte*, herausgegeben von C. Colpe, Darmstadt 1968 (repr. 1927), p. 15-107.
- Schäfer, P., *Rivalität zwischen Engeln und Menschen. Untersuchungen zur rabbinischen Engelvorstellung*, Berlin-New York 1975.
- Scharbert, J., *Traditions- und Redaktionsgeschichte von Gn 6, 1-4*, in: *Bibl. Zeitschr.*, n. F. 11, 1967, p. 66-78.
- Schenke, H.-M., *Das Sethianische System nach Nag-Hammadi-Handschriften*, in: *Studia Coptica*, herausgegeben von P. Nagel, Berlin 1974, p. 165-172.
- Schmidt, C., *Irenaeus und seine Quelle in adv. haer. I 29*, in: *Philotesia. Paul Kleinert zum LXX. Geburtstag dargebracht*, Berlin 1907, p. 315-336.
- Schnabel, P., *Berosus und die Babylonisch-Hellenistische Literatur*, Berlin 1923.
- Schoeps, H. J., *Die Urgemeinde nach den Pseudoklementinen*, in: *Aus frühchristlicher Zeit. Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Tübingen 1956.
- Schottroff, L., *Animae naturaliter salvandae. Zum Problem des himmlischen Herkunft des Gnostikers*, in: *Christentum und Gnosis. Aufsätze* herausgegeben von W. Eltester, Berlin 1969, p. 65-97.
- Sellin, E. und Fohrer, G., *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Heidelberg 1965¹⁰.
- Staerk, W., *Die Erlösererwartung in den östlichen Religionen (Soter II)*, Stuttgart 1928.
- Torrey, C. C., *Alexander Jannaeus and the Archangel Michael*, in: *Vetus Testamentum* 4 1954, p. 208-211.

- Unnik, W. C. van, *Die jüdische Komponente in der Entstehung der Gnosis*, in: *Vigiliae Christianae* 15, 1961, p. 65-82.
- Unnik, W. C. van, *Der Neid in der Paradiesgeschichte nach einigen gnostischen Texten*, in: *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in honour of A. Böhlig*, Leiden 1972, p. 120-132.
- Vermes, G., *The Targumic Versions of Genesis IV 3-16*, in: *Annual of Leeds Univ. Oriental Ser.* III, 1961-1962, p. 81-114.
- Vriezen, Th. C. en Woude, A. S. van der, *De Literatuur van Oud-Israel*, Wassenaar 1973.
- Weiser, A., *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Göttingen 1953⁶.
- Westermann, C., *Handbook to the Old Testament*, London 1969.
- Wickham, L. R., *The Sons of God and the Daughters of Men: Genesis VI 2 in early Christian Exegesis*, in: *Oudtestament. Studiën* 19, 1974, p. 135-147.
- Widengren, G., *Iranisch-Semitische Kulturbegegnung in Parthischer Zeit*, in: *Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen. Geisteswissensch.* H. 70, Köln-Opladen 1960.
- Widengren, G., *Die Religion Irans*, Stuttgart 1965.
- Wilson, McL. R., *The Gospel of Philip. Translated from the Coptic Text with an Introduction and Commentary*, New York-Evanston 1962.
- Wilson, McL. R., *Gnosis and New Testament*, Oxford 1968.
- Windisch, H., *Die Orakel des Hystapses*, in: *Verhandel. der Kon. Akad. van Wetensch. Amsterdam*, afd. Letterkunde, nwe Reeks XXVIII 3, Amsterdam 1929.
- Wisse, F., *The Sethians and the Nag Hammadi Library*, in: *Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Lit.* 2, 1972, p. 601-607.
- Woude A. S. van der, *Die Messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumrân*, Assen 1957.
- Wünsch, R., *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom*, Leipzig 1898.
- Yamauchi, E., *Pre-Christian Gnosticism*, London 1973.

REFERENCES

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT

Genesis		6, 8	36
1, 1-2	1	6, 9	1
1, 4a	1	8, 20	43
1, 26	29	14, 18	43
2, 4b - 4, 26	1	10, 22	15
2, 21-22	92	10, 24	15
3, 25-26	1	18, 2	92
4	8	22, 2	42
4, 1	4	23, 2	10
4, 1-2	4, 8	23, 9	10
4, 2	4, 6, 10		
4, 7	13	Exodus	
4, 8	110	6, 1	63
4, 14	14, 69	6, 3	5
4, 15	72	7, 1	63
4, 16	13, 46, 69	22, 8	75
4, 17	4		
4, 17-22	72	Numbers	
4, 17-24	3, 7, 23	29, 17	32
4, 20-22	75		
4, 21	66	Psalms	
4, 23	68	82, 6	68
4, 23-24	76		
4, 24	72, 73	Ecclesiastes	
4, 25	2, 4, 5, 6, 12, 16, 26, 33, 36, 86, 92	49, 16	20
4, 26	2, 5, 7, 31, 40, 41, 64, 74, 75, 76, 78	Song of Songs	
5	1, 7	4, 6	42
5, 1	7, 11	I Chronicles	
5, 1-22	70	1, 1-4	1
5, 3	1, 6, 8, 26, 36, 91	6, 4	44
5, 3-4	1		
5, 4-18	20	II Chronicles	
5, 5	75	3, 1	42
5, 5-8	2		
5, 6	36	Matthew	
5, 6-8	1	2, 1-12	53
5, 6-32	1, 3, 4	24, 11	103
5, 8	47		
5, 29	1, 2	Mark	
5, 32	1	13, 22	103
5, 32 - 6, 4	14		
6	74, 75, 76, 79	Luke	
6, 1	3, 11, 14, 63, 65, 73	3, 38	1
6, 1-4	2	21, 11	103

Colossians		II Peter	
2, 14	103	3, 5-7	103
JEWISH LITERATURE			
Aboth de Rabbi Nathan		6, 3	71
(edition on p. 4)		6, 4-6	66
ch. 1, p. 11	97	6, 6	71
ch. 1, p. 13	4, 6	8, 1	99
ch. 1, p. 16	43	8, 3-4	61
ch. 2, p. 23	12	12, 3	15, 49
ch. 14, p. 76	39	12, 4-5	15
ch. 31, p. 126	17	22, 1	49
		33, 3-4	49
Apocalypse of Moses		37, 1	20
I 2	3	69, 8	15
I 1-3	18	75, 3-4	49
IV 1-2	18	79, 2-6	49
V 1	19	82, 1	49
V 2	19	83-90	15
VI 1-2	19	85-90	20
IX 2-3	19	85, 3	20
X 1 - XII 2	19	85, 4-5	20
XIII 1-5	19	85, 5	21
XIII 6	19	85, 6-8	21
XIV 1-3	19	85, 9	21
XIX 1	19	86, 1	21
XXI 6	19	86, 2	21
XXV 1 - XXXV 3	19	86, 3	21
XXXIX 4-7	19, 42	86, 4	21
XXXIV 1-2	19	88	21
XXXVII 4-6	19	89, 1	21
XXXVIII 1-5	119	89, 9	21
XL 2	42	89, 10	22
XL 6	42	90, 37-38	22
XL 7	42	92, 1	49
XLII 1 - XLIII 5	19	106, 5-6	3
Chronicles of Jerahmeel		II Enoch	
(edition on p. 4)		12, 4	65
XXIII 1	7	13, 10	49, 65
XXIV 4	8	33, 10	20
XXIV 7	24	33, 11-12	49
XXIV 10-11	9	48, 6	49
XXV 1-7	15		
XXVI 1	4, 38	Genesis Apocryphon	
XXVI 2	13	(edition on p. 3)	
XXVI 16	24	II, p. 40	3
XXXII 1	53		
XXXII 4	24	Josephus, <i>Antiquitates</i>	
XXXV 4	54	I 41	97
		I 54	63, 65
I Enoch		I 58	72
6, 1-8	14	I 60-65	23

I 61	63, 65	XXII 7	89, 110
I 66	23, 63	XXII 12	72
I 67	6, 23, 36	XXIII 3	75
I 68	24, 40	XXIII 4	73
I 69-70	48	XXIII 5	6, 7, 24, 36
I 69-71	121	XXIII 6	7
I 70	51, 105	XXIV 5	7, 8, 72
I 72-76	25	XXIV 5	48
I 105	75	XXIV 6	75
I 106	48	XXIV 7	9
I 108	24	XXXIV 9	43
I 144	151	LI 8	7
I 180	43	LV 7	42
I 225	42	<i>Numbers R.</i>	
		IV 8	13
Jubilees		XIV 12	7, 33
3, 22	13	<i>Deut. R.</i>	
4, 1	13	XI 10	3
4, 2	13	<i>Ruth R.</i>	
4, 7	13, 20	p. 58	7
4, 8	13, 37	<i>S. of. S. R.</i>	
4, 9	13	VIII 9, 3	13
4, 10	13		
4, 11	14	Oracula Sibyllinica	
4, 12-28	14	III 218-235	15
4, 15	65		
4, 17	13, 15, 49	Philo	
4, 17-18	15	<i>de Abrah.</i>	
4, 19	15	I	122
4, 21	15	<i>de cherub.</i>	
4, 22	15, 65	12	14
4, 24	15	53	4
4, 29	14, 19	<i>de decal.</i>	
4, 31	13, 6	8	98
5, 6	41	<i>de gigant.</i>	
8	15	4-5	70
8, 3-4	51	18	27
8, 14	15	<i>de migr. Abr.</i>	
8, 19	14	74	20
22, 12	14	<i>de opif. mundi</i>	
		51	98
Midrashim		134	98
<i>Genesis R.</i>		<i>de post. Caini</i>	
VIII 1	92	10	26, 34
VIII 11	91	22	14
XI 2	92	32	14
XII 8	91	42	26
XIV 3	91	124	26, 34
XIV 8	42, 97	125	26, 34
XVII 1	98	173-174	26
XVII 5	92	177	26
XXII 2	4, 6, 20	<i>de praem.</i>	
XXII 3	6	23	93

<i>quest. on Gen.</i>		38b	4, 17, 91, 97
I 78	26, 34	59b	97
I 79	26	108b	122
I 81	26	<i>b. Shabb.</i>	
I 88	23	146a	7
I 92	21, 27	<i>b. Sukka</i>	
II 79	26	52b	13
<i>quod det. pot.</i>		<i>j. Nazir</i>	
138	5	VII 2, 52b	42
<i>de vita Mosis</i>			
II 53-95	122	Targumim	
II 263	122	<i>Fragm. Gen.</i>	
		4, 1	3
Pirkê de R. Eliezer		4, 26	5
(edition on p. 4)		<i>Neofiti I Gen.</i>	
VIII p. 52	48	4, 26	5
XII p. 84	42	<i>Neof. I, Marg. Gen.</i>	
XIV p. 98	91	4, 25	4, 5
XX p. 148	9	4, 26	5
XX p. 148-149	43, 44	<i>Onkelos Gen.</i>	
XXI p. 150-151	8	4, 26	5
XXI p. 152	4, 8	<i>Ps. Jonathan Gen.</i>	
XXII p. 158	8	2, 7	42
XXII p. 158-159	8	2, 15	42
XXII p. 159	9	3, 6	3
XXII p. 160	9	3, 7	91
XXII p. 160-161	9	3, 23	42
XXII p. 161-162	9	4, 1	3, 6
XXIII p. 171	43	4, 8	13, 110
XXVI p. 275	44	4, 15	72
		4, 23-24	73
Ps. Philo, <i>Antiquitates</i>		4, 24	72
(edition on p. 14)		4, 26	5
II 1	14	5, 1-3	6
II 7-9	70	5, 3	6
		6, 2	9
Talmud		6, 4	21
<i>b. Ab. Zara</i>		14, 18	43
5a	17	22, 2	42
8a	43	22, 9	43
22b	7		
<i>b. Baba Bathra</i>		Testament of Abraham	
58a	43	XVI	3
75a	91		
<i>b. Ber.</i>		Testament of Benjamin	
61a	92	7, 3-4	72
<i>b. Erub.</i>		Testament of Rueben	
18b	7, 92	5, 5-7	21
53a	10, 43		
<i>b. Hag.</i>		Vita Adae et Evae	
12a	91	VI 1-2	11
<i>b. Jabm.</i>		XIII 1 - XVII 3	97
103b	7	XVIII	16
<i>b. Sanh.</i>		XXI	16

XXII 3	16	XLIII 1-2	18
XXIII 2	16	XLIII 3	19, 41
XXIII 3	16	XLIII 6	42
XXIV 1	16	XLV 3	55
XXV 1 - XXIX 10	48	XLVI 1 - XLVIII 2	18
XXIX 1-3	17	XLVIII 5-6	18
XXIX 1-10	55	XLIX 1-2	18
XXIX 4	17	XLIX 1 - L 2	48
XXIX 5	17	XLIX 3 - L 2	121
XXIX 6	17	L 1-2	18, 51
XXIX 7	17	L 3-LI 2	19
XXIX 8,10	17	L 3-LI 3	18
XXX 1-2	41		
XXX 1-3	19	Zadokite Document	
XXX 2-3	17	VII 18b-21	32
XXXI 1	17		
XXXII 1 - XXXV 3	17	Zohar I, <i>Beresith</i>	
XXXVI 1-2	17, 19	(edition on p. 3)	
XXXVII 1-3	17	37a	3, 11
XXXVII 1	19	54a	10
XXXVII 1 - XXXIX 2	19	55a	10
XXXIX 2	17	55b	11
XL 1 - XLII 1	17	56a	15, 51
XLIII 1	19	57b	10, 11, 44

SAMARITAN LITERATURE

Asatir		VI 27	30
(edition on p. 30)		IX 32	31
I 2-3	30		
I 7	30	Maulid an Nashi'	
I 9	43	(edition on p. 30)	
I 21	30	16, 11	30
I 24	30	17, 18 - 18, 1	31
I 26	30	18, 3	31
II 3	31	18, 4	31
II 7	30		
II 12	30	Memar Marquah	
II 14	30, 43	(edition on p. 43)	
II 27	31	11 10	43
II 35	30		
III 2	43	Molad Mosheh	
III 3	43	(edition on p. 29)	
III 7	43	p. 6	29
IV 5	47	p. 7	29, 30
IV 15	30	p. 8	31

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

Greek

Acta Andraei et Matthiae	Adamus Scotus		
(edition on p. 3)	(edition on p. 35)		
c. 24	<i>De Trip. Tabern.</i> , p. 11		35

Anacephalaiosis (edition on p. 88) <i>in Tom. 3, c. 39</i>	88	Cyrillus of Alexandria (edition on p. 63 and 66) <i>Glaph. in Gen. II</i> <i>c. Julianum, lib. IX</i>	63, 64, 66 66
Anastasius Sinaita (edition on p. 39 and 64) <i>in Hexaemeron, lib. VII</i> <i>Quaest. XXV</i>	39 39	Didymus of Alexandria (edition on p. 88) <i>Ennar. in Ep. B. Judae</i>	88
Athanasius (edition on p. 44 and 64) <i>de Pass. et Cr. Dom.</i> <i>Interpr. ex. V.T.</i>	44 64	Epiphanius (edition on p. 13) <i>Panarion</i>	
Athenagoras <i>Legatio</i> 24, 5-6 25, 1	61 71	26 1 4ff. 26 8 1 37 4 1 38 2 7 39 1 1 39 1 2 39 1 3 39 2 1 39 2 3 39 2 4 39 2 5 39 2 7 39 3 1 39 3 2 39 3 5 39 5 1 39 5 3 39 5 7 39 6 4 39 6 5 40 1 1-2 40 5 3 40 5 4 40 7 1-3 40 7 2 40 7 4 40 7 4-5	87 84, 112 97 85 84 84 84 84 84 85 86 86 86 86 84, 86 84, 105 86, 87 35 37 13 89 89 89 89 35 112 89
Basil (edition on p. 63) <i>Orat. VI</i>	63		
Cat. Cod. Astrol. Gr. (edition on p. 49, 50 and 51) II, p. 182, 25-34 V, p. 118, 10-13 VI, p. 3 VII, p. 87	49 49 50 51		
Cedrenus (edition on p. 35) p. 16 p. 16.17 p. 17 p. 18 p. 18-19 p. 19 p. 20 p. 27	39, 40, 50, 52, 63 51 40 40, 44 66 66, 67 66 52		
Chrysostom (edition on p. 63) <i>Gen. Hom. in c. V et VI,</i> XXII 3	63	Eusebius of Caesarea (edition on p. 50 and 124) <i>Praep. Evang.</i> 31d-32c 186cd	50 61
Clement of Alexandria <i>Eclog. Prophet.</i> 53.3 <i>Stromat.</i> I 15 71 V 9 5 V 10 2	61 58 123 71	<i>Chronik</i> p. 10-12	124
Const. Manasses (edition on p. 49) p. 19	49	Eusebius of Emesa (edition p. 37) p. 62	37
		Eutychius (edition on p. 38) c. 910C	38

c. 911A	40	III 23 6	98
c. 911B	39	IV 36 4	61
c. 911C	40, 45	IV 38-39	17
c. 911D	68	<i>Demonstr.</i> 18	61
c. 912B	69		
c. 912C	68	Isidore of Sevilla	
c. 912D	70	(edition on p. 118, 55, 88)	
c. 913B	71	<i>Alleg. quaedam scr. sacrae</i> 118	35
c. 914D	45	<i>Etymol. lib.</i>	
Georgios Hamartolos		VII VI 9	35
(edition on p. 40)		VIII VI 16	88
<i>Chronicon</i>		<i>de Haer.</i> VI 16	88
c. 49A	63	<i>Quaest. in V.T., in Gen.</i> VI	35
c. 52C	50		
c. 52C-53A	52	Joel	
c. 85C	40, 41	(edition on p. 50)	
c. 88A	63, 54	p. 1-2	50, 52
Glossae Colbertinae		John Damascene	
(edition on p. 35)		(edition on p. 88)	
204, 39	35	<i>de Haer. Lib.</i> 30	88
Hippolytus		Joseppus	
(edition on p. 52 and 89)		(edition on p. 88)	
<i>Refut.</i>		<i>Lib. Memorabilis</i> CXL 14	88
V 2	97		
V 19 1 - 22 1	89	Justin Martyr	
V 20 2	89	<i>Apol.</i>	
V 22	105	I 15	61
VIII 16	97	II 7 2	93
<i>Kronik</i>			
p. 72	52	Lydus	
Honorius Augustodunensis		<i>de Mensibus</i> III 16	123
(edition on p. 88)			
<i>de Haer. Lib.</i> XXXI	88	Malalas	
		(edition on p. 37)	
Hugh of St. Victor		p. 1	37
(edition on p. 24 and 65)		p. 4	63
<i>Anot. eluc. in Pent., in Gen.</i> XI	24	p. 5	52
<i>Alleg. in V.T., Lib. I, c. XI</i>	65	p. 5-6	50
		p. 6	5
Ignatius		p. 7	40, 63
<i>in Ephes.</i> XIX 1	103	p. 8	64
		p. 8-9	63
Irenaeus		Michael Glycas	
<i>adv. Haer.</i>		(edition on p. 40)	
I 7 5	89	p. 127	44
I 24 1	97	p. 140	50
I 29	96	p. 223	69
I 30 6	91, 97	p. 228	40, 50
I 30 9	87, 98	p. 229-230	70
III 22 4	17	p. 233	40
III 23 5	91	p. 288	40

Onomastica Vaticana (edition on p. 35)		Ps. Clement (edition on p. 15)	
177, 68	35	<i>Homiliae</i>	
198, 48	35	II 25	66, 68
Origen		III 25	67
<i>c. Celsum</i>		VIII 12-13	21
I 19	93	VIII 12-14	15, 67
I 19-20	122	VIII 12-15	61
I 24	58	VIII 15 1	60
I 58	58	Rabanus Maurus	
IV 9-13	122	(edition on p. 35)	
IV 11	122	<i>de Univ. Libri XXII, II 1</i>	35
IV 12	123	Serapion of Thmuis	
IV 20	122	(edition on p. 88)	
IV 20-21	122	<i>Lib. adv. Manich. III</i>	88
IV 79	122	Suidas	
VI 31 39ff.	87	(edition on p. 40)	
<i>epist. ad Titum</i>	88	<i>Lexicon</i>	
Paris. Graec. 2419	50, 51	p. 48	64
(edition on p. 50)		p. 248	50
Paulus		p. 348	40, 63
(edition on p. 88)		Syncellus	
<i>de Haer. Lib. XIV</i>	88	(edition on p. 38)	
Paulus Nolanus		p. 2	41
(edition on p. 39)		p. 15	38
<i>Epist. XII 2</i>	39	p. 15-16	65
Photius		p. 16	39
(edition on p. 63)		p. 16-17	51
<i>ad Amphil. Quaestio</i>		p. 17	38, 40, 65
<i>CCVI</i>	63, 66	p. 19	41, 63
<i>CCLV</i>	64	p. 26	65
Praedestinatus		p. 34-35	61
(edition on p. 88)		p. 72-73	124
XIX	88	p. 152	41
Proclus		Theodoret	
<i>in Timaeum 271A</i>	123	(edition on p. 63)	
Procopius of Gaza		<i>Quaest. in Gen. XI.VII</i>	63, 66
(edition on p. 37)		Theophilus of Antioch	
c. 256D-257A	74	II 25	17, 98
c. 260C	63	II 29	97
c. 264B	37	II 30-31	93
c. 265B-268A	63	III 19	93
c. 321BC	52		
		<i>Latin</i>	
Acta Pilati		Ambrose	
(edition on p. 17)		(edition on p. 22)	
(Latin A) III (XIX)	17	<i>de Noe</i>	
		2, 3	22
		4, 8	61

Augustine (edition on p. 35 and 88)		<i>Instit.</i> II 10 22-25	123
<i>de Civ. Dei</i>		II 14	61
XV 17	35		
XV 22-23	64	Orosius	
<i>de Haer. Lib.</i> XIX	88	(edition on p. 123)	
<i>c. Faustum</i> XIX 3	51, 109	<i>Adv. Pagan.</i> VII I 9 1-3	123
Commodian		Petrus Comestor	
<i>Instruct. Lib.</i> I III	61	(edition on p. 36)	
Filaster		<i>Hist. Schol. Lib. Gen.</i>	
(edition on p. 63)		c. XXV	36
<i>Div. Her. Lib.</i>		c. XXVI	65
III	88	c. XXIX	36
CVIII	63	Ps. Chrysostom	
Jerome		(edition on p. 58)	
(edition on p. 69, 14, 44, 67)		<i>in Matth. Hom.</i> II	58
<i>epist.</i> XXXVI	69, 74	Ps. Clement	
<i>Lib. Interpr. Hebr. Nom.</i>		(edition on p. 61)	
2, 18	20	<i>Recogn.</i>	
9, 3	14	I 29	66, 67, 68
10, 12-13	35	IV 26	61, 67
20, 17	35	Ps. Cyprian	
65, 28-30	35	(edition on p. 44)	
<i>de situ et nom.</i>		<i>adv. Jud.</i> 10	44
84, 9-13	44	Ps. Jerome	
84, 12	92	(edition on p. 88)	
<i>Tract. de Ps.</i>		<i>Indic. de Haer.</i> IX	88
LXXXII	74	Ps. Tertullian	
CXXXII 2	67	(edition on p. 82)	
John Cassian		<i>adv. omn. Haer.</i> 2	82, 85
(edition on p. 40)		Tertullian	
<i>Conlationes</i> XXI	40, 51, 62, 65, 66	<i>de Hab. Virg.</i> 14	61
Lactantius		<i>de Pudic.</i> 9	91
(edition on p. 61)		<i>de Resurr.</i> 7	91
		<i>Syriac</i>	
Aphraates		Book of the Bee	
(edition on p. 71)		(edition on p. 34)	
<i>Dem.</i> XIII 5-7	71	XVII	34, 39, 40
		XVIII	37, 38, 47, 53, 68
Bardesanes		XIX	70
(edition on p. 61)		XX	53, 71
<i>Lib. Leg. Reg.</i> 9	61	XXX	34
Bar Hebraeus		XXXIX	46, 47
(edition on p. 41)		Cave of Treasures	
<i>Hist. Compend. Dynast.</i>		(edition on p. 37)	
p. 5	41	p. 7	5
p. 7	50	p. 8	37, 38, 40, 43, 45

p. 9	41, 45	7, 2	74
p. 10	40, 41, 68	19, 4-5	74
p. 11	46, 47	<i>Hymnen de Paradiso</i>	
p. 11-12	69	I 11	73
p. 12	69		
p. 15	71	Ishō bar Nūn	
p. 15-16	71	(edition on p. 76)	
p. 17	58, 71	p. 27	76
p. 18	71	p. 110	110
p. 19-20	45		
p. 20	46	Išōdad of Merv	
p. 28-29	44	(edition on p. 34)	
p. 33	53	<i>Comm. in Gen.</i>	
p. 54	39	p. 50	39
p. 56-57	53	p. 112	75
p. 57	46, 59	p. 112-113	76
Chronicon Ps. Dionysianum		p. 113	76
(edition on p. 45)		p. 114	34
p. 4	45	p. 115	76
p. 6	45	p. 120	76
p. 45	46, 59	p. 120-121	76
p. 46	59	p. 144	39
p. 67-70	59	Michael Syrus	
Early Syriac Fathers		(edition on p. 37)	
(edition on p. 34)		I I	37
p. 80	34, 41, 74	I III	66, 68, 71
p. 81	75	Narsai	
Ephrem		(edition on p. 69)	
(edition on p. 74, 39, 73)		<i>Hom. sur la Création</i> IV 401	69
<i>Hymnen de Fide</i>			
46, 8	74	Theodor bar-Kōnī	
<i>Comm. in Gen. et Ex.</i>		(edition on p. 41)	
III 9	72	<i>Lib. Schol.</i>	
III 11	73	p. 98	41, 75
IV 2	73	p. 101-102	75
IV 3	74		
V 1	39, 41, 74	Testament of Adam	
VI 5	75	(edition on p. 38)	
<i>Hymnen c. Haer.</i>		fr. II 3	38
5, 12	39, 74	fr. II 4	46
<i>Arabic</i>			
Fragments of Hippolytus	45	p. 13	45, 56
(edition on p. 45)		p. 17	56
		p. 18	56, 68
		p. 19	68
Kitāb al-Maqālī		p. 20	69
(edition on p. 56)		p. 22	71
p. 1	56	p. 22-23	45, 56
p. 11	38, 45, 56	p. 23	71
p. 12	40, 50	p. 25	71

p. 25-26	56	p. 37	53
p. 31-32	56	p. 39	44
<i>Armenian</i>			
(edition on p. 34, 39, 70)		Der Tod Adams	
Erzählung von der Busse des Adam		24-25	93
und Eva		25, 1-2	39
41, 28-31	34		
Erzählung von den Söhnen Adams,		Worte des Adams zu Seth	
Abel und Kain		46, 22	39
35-36	70	46, 26-29	24
Über das Evangelium von Seth			
36, 32-37	39	Livre de l'Enfance	
37, 1-2	41	p. 138-139	57
38	70	p. 147-148	57
39	71	p. 148	58
<i>Coptic</i>			
A Coptic Jeremiah Apocryphon		The Book of the Resurrection	
(edition on p. 40)		(edition on p. 91)	
p. 314	40	p. 184	91
<i>Ethiopic</i>			
Book of Adam		p. 84	47
(edition on p. 35)		p. 85	69
p. 67-68	38	p. 88-91	70
p. 73	41	p. 92-93	70
p. 74	37	p. 93	70
p. 75	35, 39	p. 94	71
p. 77	40	p. 95	71
p. 80	39	p. 96	71
p. 81	46, 68	p. 119	53
p. 82-83	68	p. 136	53
p. 83	68		
GNOSTIC LITERATURE			
Apocalypse of Adam		71, 19	113
(edition on p. 90)		72, 17	94
64, 12-13	91	72, 18 - 73, 12	94
64, 16-19	109	73, 12-27	94
65, 5-9	92	73, 18	113
65, 25-32	92	74, 4 - 75, 8	94
66, 3-8	93	75, 9-15	121
67, 1-12	93	75, 9 - 76, 7	94
67, 14-16	112	75, 21ff.	101
69, 12-17	93	76, 8-11	103
69, 15-16	91, 113	76, 8 - 77, 27	95
69, 19-25	93	77, 1	115
70, 4-6	121	77, 15	103
70, 17-19	93	77, 27 - 82, 19	95
71, 14 - 72, 14	94	82, 4-22	113

82, 19-28	95	Ginzā	
83, 1-6	95	(edition on p. 87)	
85, 19-32	95	27, 19-28, 5	108
85, 22-24	115	45, 22-42	108
85, 23-24	112	45, 42	87
85, 30-31	104	46, 11.	87
		103, 12-13	108
Apoeryphon of John		108, 4-7	97
(edition on p. 96)		109, 14-16	108
II 2, 10-14	93	118, 19	107
II 6, 10-18	96	127, 14-21	107
II 8, 25-26	96	142, 19-22	108
II 8, 34-35	105	143, 26-30	108
II 8, 39-9, 1	97	146, 1-6	107
II 9, 11-13	97	146, 11	107
II 9, 14-15	97	146, 24	107
II 10, 1-23	97	211, 36ff.	87
II 10, 23-11, 4	97	223, 17-20	108
II 10, 34-36	3	243, 29-30	107
II 11, 16-18	97	259, 31-261, 2	108
II 19, 11-14	97	260, 3-4	108
II 19, 28-53	19	261, 6-9	107
II 19, 34	97	264, 20-26	108
II 20, 14-24	97	268, 7-10	108
II 20, 35-21, 14	98	268, 7-32	108
II 22, 3-5	98	268, 34-35	107, 108
II 22, 35	98	282, 13-14	108
II 23, 3-4	98	320, 9-10	108
II 23, 4-26	98	408, 34-409, 2	108
II 23, 34-35	98	410, 6ff.	87
II 24, 15-34	98	424, 15-16	108
II 24, 34-35	98	427-429	107
II 28, 6-7 = IV 43, 17-18	91		
II 28, 11-12	98	Gospel of the Egyptians	
II 28, 32-29, 12	99	(edition on p. 4)	
II 29, 16-29	99	III 40, 12-14 = IV 50, 1-3	100
II 29, 30-30, 2	99	III 41, 7-9 = IV 50, 23-26	100
II 30, 31-31, 1	115	III 41, 13-22 = IV 51, 2-14	101
II, 30-31, 1	99, 103	III 41, 23-43 = IV 51, 15-52,	
II 31, 11-28	99	24	101
II, 39, 4-7	99	III 42, 12 = IV 52, 4	100
		III 43, 4-8 = IV 52, 24-53, 3	100
Three Steles of Seth		III 43, 8-44 = IV 53, 1-54,	
(edition on p. 105)		12	101
118, 10-13	105	III 44, 9-28 = IV 54, 13-56,	
118, 24-28	105	10	101
121, 16-18	105	III 51, 5-14 = IV 62, 30-63,	
124, 14-16	105	8	101
127, 27	105	III 51, 14-22 = IV 63, 8-16	101
		III 52, 19-53 = IV 64, 14-23	101
Excerpta e Theodoto		III 52, 20-53, 1 = IV 64,	
(edition on p. 86)		15-21	94
I, 3	86	III 53, 12-54, 11 = IV 65,	
54, 1	89	5-30	101

III 54, 1-55, 16 = IV 65, 30-67, 1	101	Hypostasis of the Archons (edition on p. o)	
III 55, 16-56, 22 = IV 67, 2-68, 5	102	134, 27	3
III 56, 22, 58, 22 = IV 63, 5-70, 4	102	135, 3	3
III 58, 15-17	4	135, 22-29	92
III 59, 1-9	102	135, 33-136, 6	97
III 59, 6-60 = IV 71, 1-11	102	136, 24-26	98
III 60, 2-18 = IV 71, 11-30	102	137, 11-13	91
III 60, 19-61, 1 = IV 71, 30-72, 10	102	137, 14-17	98
III 61, 1-5 = IV 72, 10-15	121	137, 31-138, 13	91
III 61, 1-15 = IV 72, 10-27	103	138, 2-10	109
III 61, 16-63 = IV 72, 27-74, 17	103	139, 4-5	98
III 63, 4-8 = IV 74, 17ff.	95	139, 30-140, 3	98
III 63, 4-14 = IV 74, 17-29	103	139, 34-140, 1	98
III 63, 10-14 = IV 74, 25-30	104	140, 4-8	99
III 63, 16-18 = IV 75, 4-5	95	140, 40	98
III 63, 22-64, 4 = IV 75, 11-19	103	141, 1	87
III 64, 9-19 = IV 75, 24-76, 3	104	144, 11-12	109
III 64, 25-65, 26 = IV 76, 14-20	104	Kephalaia (edition on p. 95)	
III 65, 26-66, 8 = IV 78, 1-10	104	I 12, 9-19	109
III 68, 1-4 = IV 80, 15-18	100	I 42, 25-26	95
III 68, 1-6 = IV 80, 15-19	112	I 92, 25-30	109
III 68, 10-14 = IV 18, 1ff.	100	I 93, 2	109
III 68, 20-24	100	I 133, 12-20	109
III 69, 6-7	100	I 135, 20-27	109
III 69, 10-12	100	I 145, 24-27	109
III 69, 13-20	100	I 157, 5	109
IV 56, 11-12	101	I 157, 6-7	109
IV 58, 23-59, 28	101	I 157, 12-13	109
IV 59, 29-60, 12	101	Mandäische Homilien (edition on p. 94)	
IV 60, 22-61, 18 = III 49, 1-16	101	Bd. I	
Gospel of Philip		68, 13-19	110
71	93	68, 15-19	94
78	93	Mandäische Liturgien (edition on p. 108)	
79	93	13, 3	108
94	93	20, 7-8	108
Gospel of Thomas		41, 11	108
1, 22	93	106, 5-6	108
Johannesbuch der Mandäer (edition on p. 108)		144, 10ff.	108
p. 93	108	Manichæan Psalmbook (edition on p. 109)	
p. 244	108	II 57, 7-14	109
		II 142, 3	109
		II 144, 1-6	109
		II, 146, 12	109
		Paraphrase des Sëem (edition on p. 105)	
		1, 4-5	105

25, 11-13	99	362, 6-7	104
28, 14-17	99	362, 14-15	101
28, 34 - 29, 33	102		
29, 12-18	103	Untitled Work	
30, 12-18	103	(edition on p. 87)	
Pistis Sophia		149, 33-34	87
(edition on p. 49)		150, 2-25	87
228, 25 - 229, 5	98	163, 3 - 164, 11	97
228, 35 - 229, 10	49	163, 30 - 164, 3	91
Der zweite Logos des grossen Seth		164, 2-8	98
(edition on p. 105)		165, 13-18	98
p. 50, 20-24	105	166, 28 - 167, 12	98
Unbekanntes altgnostisches Werk		Zostrianos	
(edition on p. 101)		(edition on p. 105)	
340, 23	111	4, 21-23	106
341, 15	111	7, 8-11	106
343, 34-35	112	126, 1-21	106
		130, 14-24	106
<i>Other Works</i>			
Censorius		Plato	
<i>de Die Natali</i> XVIII 10	123	<i>Leges</i> 676B-677C	122
Excerpta Stobaei		<i>Timaeus</i> 21E-22E	121
XXIII 5	123		
Lucretius		Porphyrius	
V 990-991	122	<i>Vita Plotini</i> c. 16	105